THE LIVES OF THE Twelve Cæsars,

Written in LATIN by

C. Suetonius Tranquillus.

Translated into ENGLISH, with Explanatory NOTES, by Mr. *HUGHES.*

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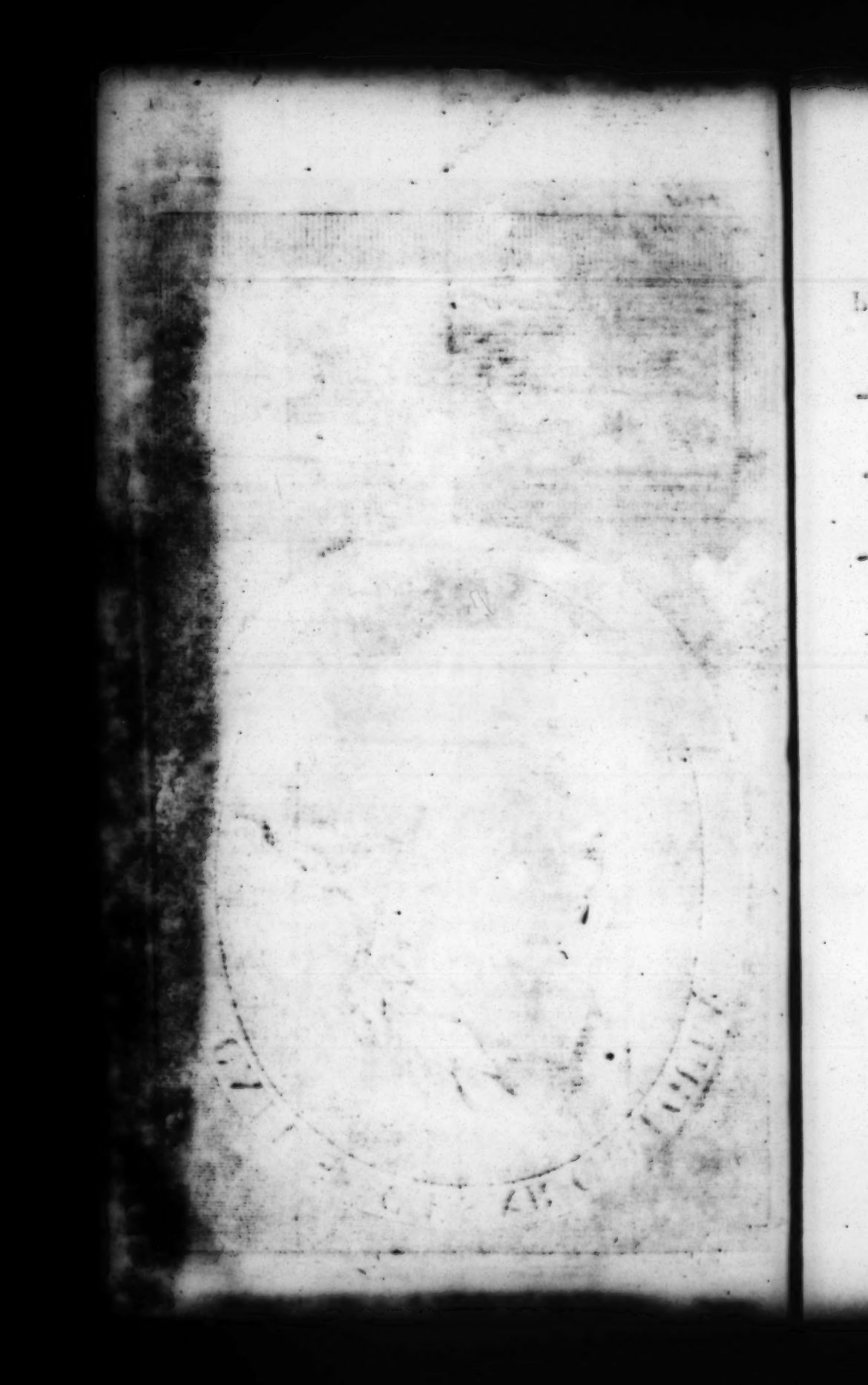

THE

LIFE

OF

Caius Cæsar Caligula.

GERMANICUS, the Father of Caius Cæsar, and the Son of Drusus and Antonia the youngest, being adopted by his Uncle Tiberius, assum'd the Quæstorship five Years before the 11 Age allow'd by the Laws, and after that the Consulship. When the Power of Augustus Cæsar came to be with the Army in Germany, and the Legions intending to a Body [illegible] with great [illegible] Germanicus [illegible] he enter'd on the Office

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[illegible] Daughter of [illegible] Octavius, Augustus's Sister.

[illegible] the adjacent Age, and was called [illegible] but the Pronunciation was frequently [illegible]

Offices, he was * hurry'd away to compose the Troubles of the East; where defeating the King of *Armenia*, he reduc'd *Cappadocia* into a Province, and expir'd, in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, of a lingring Disease at *Antioch*, not without Suspicion of Poyson. For beside the livid Spots which arose all over the Body, and a Foam which work'd out at the Mouth, after the Burning, his Heart was found among the Bones unconsum'd; the Nature of which is said to be such, that Fire cannot affect it, if it is once touch'd with Poyson.

2. He dy'd, as 'twas thought, by the Treachery of *Tiberius*, and the Means of *C. Piso*; who being at that Time Governor of *Syria*, scrupled not to own, he must of Necessity break either with the † Father or the Son, in order to support himself; and when *Germanicus* lay ill, he observ'd no Bounds in vilifying and injuring him by Words and Actions: Wherefore, at his Return to *Rome*, he was almost torne in Pieces

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* *The same Jealousy and Fear which caus'd* Tiberius *to detain with him two Provincial Governors,* (see p. 230.) *and not let them go to their Governments, certainly induc'd him to send* Germanicus *away from* Rome *as far as* Armenia. *He was afraid those Governors shou'd act against him, if they took Possession of the Provinces; and now he apprehended, if* Germanicus *staid at* Rome *and enter'd on the Consulship, his Popularity and Interest might be pernicious to him, and his Virtues make his own Vices the more provoking; and having an Opinion of his Fidelity, he thought he might safely remove him to that Distance, or that it was the least Hazard of the two.*

† Tiberius *and* Germanicus. *It appears he was under Engagements of Friendship to* Germanicus, *and his Fortune principally depended upon* Tiberius. *His Intimacy with* Germanicus *made him more capable of serving* Tiberius *in this Design, and* Tiberius, *'tis likely, observ'd in him a Disposition not averse to so barbarous a Treachery.*

Pieces By the People, and the Senate †† condemn'd him to Death

3. *Germanicus*, it is certain, poſſeſs'd all the Accompliſhments of Body and Mind, beyond any Man who ever liv'd. His Perſon was extremely graceful, his Courage high, and he excell'd in the Eloquence and Learning both of *Greece* and *Rome*. He was ſingularly courteous and benevolent, and had a moſt ſurpriſing Manner of attracting the Affection and Love of all Men. The Juſtneſs of his Proportion was ſomething leſſen'd by his having ſlender Legs; but in time he corrected this Defect, by his daily Cuſtom of Riding after Meals. He often engag'd the Enemy Hand to Hand, and pleaded in ſeveral Cauſes, even after he had receiv'd the Honour of the Triumphal Ornaments; and among other Monuments of his Studies, he left ſome *Greek* Comedies. At home and abroad he always acted with wonderful Humanity, and familiarly enter'd ſuch Towns as were Free or Confederate, without the Band of Lictors. Where-ever he diſcover'd the Sepulchres of Illuſtrious Men, he ſacrific'd to their *Manes*. Deſigning to compoſe the ſcatter'd Reliques of thoſe who fell in the Slaughter of *Varus*'s Legions, he was the firſt to gather them up, and pile them together with his own Hands. To his Enemies, upon whatever Account he happen'd to have any, he carry'd himſelf with Lenity and Temper; and when *Piſo* had revers'd his Decrees, and ſpitefully inſulted ſeveral of his Dependents for a long time, he never reſented it, till he perceiv'd him practiſing upon his Life with * Incantations and Charms; and even then he proceeded no further, than to renounce his Friendſhip in Form, and to order his Domeſticks, in caſe

†† *Upon the Impeachment of* Vitellius, *who was afterwards Emperor.*

* *See* Tacitus, An. Book 2. *where he mentions the Spells and Sorceries us'd by* Piſo.

any fatal Mischief shou'd befall him, to revenge it.

4. The Effects of these beautiful Qualities were great and many. He was so belov'd by his Friends, and the Opinion of his Merit was so high, that *Augustus*, to mention no more, had it under Consideration a long time, whether he shou'd not make him his Successor, and at last oblig'd *Tiberius* to adopt him. He was so acceptable to the People, that several have reported, whenever he took a Progress to any Country, or remov'd from thence to another, the Crowds which flock'd about him and attended him on the Way, were so great, that he was often in Danger of his Life: And at his Return from *Germany*, after he had suppress'd the Sedition there, all the Pretorian Cohorts went forth to meet him, tho' by an express Order, only two of them were allow'd to do it; and every Sex, Age, and Quality at *Rome* pour'd out to receive him at Twenty Miles Distance from the City.

5. But they express'd greater and more unquestionable Proofs of their Affection to him, at the time of his Death, and after it. The Day on which he dy'd, they * pelted the Images of the Gods with Stones, and threw down their Altars; and many brought out their *Lares* and cast them into the Street, and expos'd their new-born Children. Even Barbarians, who were at War with each other, and with us, as if some Domestick Calamity had surpris'd them, are said to have consented to a Truce. Several † petty Kings tore up their Beards, and shav'd the Heads of their Wives, in Token of the profoundest

* *The Popish Mariners treat their Saints in the like devout Manner, when they scourge their Images to appease a Storm.*

† Reguli.

profoundeſt Sorrow. And * *Mogiſanus*, who was a King of Kings, abſtain'd from the Exerciſe of Hunting and from Eating, which with the *Parthians* is equal to a Suſpenſion of the Law-Courts with us.

6. At *Rome*, when they firſt heard of his being ill, the whole City, full of Confuſion and Tears, flock'd about the Meſſengers which laſt arriv'd, to enquire for News; and it being ſpread abroad in the Evening by ſome uncertain Hands, that he was better, they crouded to the Capitol from all Parts with Torches and Victims, and were on the point of breaking open the Temple-Doors, not being able to brook the leaſt Delay in offering up their Thankſgivings. Nor cou'd *Tiberius* ſleep for the Acclamations of the People, ſhouting, *Hail O Rome, Hail our Country, Germanicus is ſafe.* But as ſoon as it was known he was dead, no Conſolation nor Edicts cou'd reſtrain their Lamentations, which continu'd all the † Holy-Days of *December*. The Depravity of the Times which follow'd, wonderfully augmented the Glory of the Deceas'd, and endear'd his Memory; all Men being juſtly of Opinion, that the Awe and Reverence of *Germanicus* was a Curb upon *Tiberius*'s Cruelty, which afterwards gave it ſelf a Looſe.

7. He marry'd †† *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *M. Agrippa* and *Julia*, and had by Her nine Children; of whom two were ſnatch'd away in Infancy, and one when juſt arriv'd at the Age of a Boy, whoſe Effigies in the Habit of a *Cupid*, *Livia* dedicated with great Solemnity in the Temple of *Venus* in the Capitol: And *Auguſtus* plac'd another in his Bed-Chamber, and always kiſs'd it at his Entrance. The reſt ſurviv'd their Father. Three were of the Female

* *The King of* Parthia. *He had ſeveral petty Kings ſubject to him, and is therefore ſtyl'd* Rex Regum; *the ſame proud Title as the Eaſtern Monarchs now affect to uſe.*

† *The* Saturnalia.

†† *See Page* 217.

Sex, *Agrippine*, *Drusille* and *Liville*, who were born in three Years successively after each other; and there were as many Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus* and *Caius Cæsar*. *Nero* and *Drusus* were proscribed by the Senate, at the Accusation of *Tiberius*.

8. *Caius Cæsar* was born the * Day before the Kalends of *September*, his Father and C. *Fusius Capito* being Consuls. The Reports concerning the Place of his Birth are so various, that it is altogether uncertain. Cn. *Lentulus Getulicus* says he was born at *Tibur*, and †† *Pliny* among the ‡ *Treviri*, in the Village of || *Ambitavium*, near † *Confluentes*; and as a Proof of it, he adds, an Altar was to be seen there with this Inscription,

OB
AGRIPPINÆ.
PUERPERIUM.
FOR
THE SAFE DELIVERY
OF *AGRIPPINA*.

This Couplet which appear'd after he was Emperor, shews he was born among the Legions, when they were in Winter-Quarters;

In Castris natus, patriis nutritus in Armis,
Jam designati Principis omen erat.

Born in my Father's Camp, and bred in War,
Forshew'd th' Imperial Purple which I bear.

By

* August 31st.

†† *The elder* Pliny, *who wrote the Natural History.*

‡ *A People of the Upper* Germany.

|| *A Town on the* Rhine.

† *Call'd so because it stood at the Conflux of the* Rhine *and the* Mosell; *now* Coblentz.

By the Records of the Publick Acts, I find he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* confutes *Gutulius*, as reporting a Falſhood meerly out of Flattery, in order to derive ſome Glory to a young ambitious Prince, from the Circumſtance of his receiving his Birth in a City ſacred to *Hercules*; and ſays it is a very impudent Piece of Forgery, becauſe *Germanicus*'s Son who was born at *Tibur*, was born there a Year before, and was alſo call'd by the ſame Name, *Caius Ceſar*; concerning whoſe amiable Childhood and untimely Death, I have ſpoken above. But the Time it ſelf diſproves *Pliny*: For the Writers of *Auguſtus*'s Hiſtory agree, that *Germanicus* was ſent to *Gaul* at the End of his Conſulſhip, *Caius* being already born. Nor will the Inſcription of the Altar be of any Service to *Pliny*'s Opinion: For *Agrippina* lay in twice in thoſe Parts of two Daughters; and any Birth is term'd *Puerperium*, without Diſtinction of Sex; the Antients calling Girls *Puræ*, and Boys *Puelli*. There is an Epiſtle of *Auguſtus* alſo extant, written a few Months before his Death to his Niece *Agrippina*, in which he ſpeaks thus concerning this *Caius* (for there was no other Infant of the Name then living:) *Yeſterday I order'd* Talarius *and* Aſellius *to conduct your Child* Caius *to you, if the Gods think fit, on the* † *Fifteenth of the Kalends of* June. *I ſend with him alſo a Phyſician of my own Train, whom I wrote* Germanicus *Word, he might keep there with him, if he will. Farewel my* Agrippina, *and take Care that thou may'ſt meet thy* Germanicus *in good Health.* Whence I think it is ſufficiently clear, that *Caius* cou'd not be born at a Place to which he was not ſent from *Rome* till he was near two Years old. This alſo deſtroys the Credit of thoſe Verſes, and the more eaſily, becauſe they carry no Author's Name. The Authority therefore of the Publick Acts and Inſtruments which remain, is alone to be regarded; eſpecially ſince *Caius* prefer'd *Antium* before all

* *A Sea-Port Town of Old* Latium.

† May 18*th*.

all other Scenes of Recess, and took a Pleasure in it, as in the Place of his Nativity; and it is said, he intended to transfer thither the Seat and Residence of the Empire, being weary of *Rome*.

2. He receiv'd the Cognomen of * *Caligula*, from a Jest made upon him in the Camp, where he was bred up in the Habit of the meanest Sort of Soldiers. What an Interest his being educated familiarly among them, gave him in the Love and Favour of the Soldiers, was particularly seen by this, That when they † mutiny'd upon the Death of *Augustus*, and were in the utmost Rage, they were appeas'd merely by the Respect they bore to his Person: For they would not desist, till they understood he was to be sent out of the Camp because of the Danger of the Insurrection, and to be lodg'd in the next City; at which immediately repenting themselves, they ran and stopt his Chariot, and begg'd him not to insist on them the Disgrace they might have deserv'd to suffer.

10. He accompany'd his Father in his *Syrian* Expedition; and returning thence, he resided at first with his Mother, and when she was banish'd, with †† *Liviâ Augustâ*, his Great Grand-Mother; upon whom he also pronounc'd a Funeral Oration from the *Rostra*, in his *Pretexta*: He dwelt next with his Grand-Mother *Antonia*; and *Tiberius* sending for him to Ca-

pree

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* From Caliga, a Sort of Shoe worn by the Common Soldiers. His Mother craftily oblig'd him to wear their Habit, that she might insinuate him into their Affection by so unusual a Condescention.

† When they refus'd to accept Tiberius, and wou'd have made Germanicus, the Father of Caligula, Emperor.

†† The Word Augusta is the Feminine Gender of the Adjective Augustus, and is equal to the Title of Livia the Empress. She assum'd this Style by the express Order of her Husband Augustus in his Will, p. 159.

grew when he was Twenty Years old, in one and the same Day he put on the Virile Gown, and first * shav'd his Beard, without any of the Ceremonies which had been observ'd at that Season for his Brothers. Here all manner of † Wiles and Insinuations were practis'd on him, to betray him into some Complaints against *Tiberius*: But he never gave his Enemies the least Advantage, and forgot the Injuries offer'd his Relations, as if nothing had befallen them. What he endur'd himself, he past'd by with incredible Dissimulation; and was so obedient and submissive to his ✕ Grand-Father and those who were about him, that it was not undeservedly said, *There never was a better Servant, nor a worse Master known.*

11. Yet

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* *The Day of young Gentlemens first shaving their Beard, was observ'd as a Festival; they receiv'd Compliments upon it from their Acquaintance, and Gifts, and Offerings were also made to the Gods for their Prosperity and Health.*

Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati, &c.
Juv. Sat. 3.

To please our Patrons in this vicious Age,
We make our Entrance by the Favorite Page;
Shave his first Down, and when he puts his Hair,
The consecrated Locks to Temples bear;
Pay tributary Crotchets, which he sells,
And by our Offrings help to raise his Vails.
Mr. Dryden.

† *His two Brothers were caught in this Snare, and lost their Lives,* (p. 219.) *however* Caligula *happen'd to escape. Perhaps the Terror of their Examples subdu'd his Resentments, and made him perpetually on his Guard; and his Mother, 'tis likely, caution'd him very strictly to govern his Passions; for he was scarcely Master of Cunning enough of himself to outwit* Tiberius.

✕ Tiberius.

11. Yet even then he cou'd not restrain his cruel and dissolute Nature, but took a Pleasure in being present at Punishments and Executions; and by Night frequented the Brothels and Houses of Adultery, disguis'd in a Peruke and loose wrapping-Gown, and passionately pursu'd the Theatrical Arts of Dancing and Singing: In all which *Tiberius* easily allow'd him, in hope they wou'd soften his rough and savage Disposition. For the sharp-sighted old Man saw so perfectly into his Genius, that he wou'd sometimes say prophetically, *Caius liv'd to be the Ruine of himself and of all Mankind; and that he bred up a* * *Serpent for the* Roman *People, and a* Phaeton *for the World.*

12. Not long † after, he marry'd *Junia Claudilla*, the Daughter of *M. Silanus*, a Man of the first Quality. And being elected Augur in the Room of his Brother *Drusus*, before he was invested with the Office, he was translated to the High Priesthood, with an extraordinary Character of his Piety and Qualifications. And the Imperial Family being very thin, and destitute of other Male-Issue to support it; *Sejanus* being also already suspected, and shortly after destroy'd, he began to entertain some Expectation of the Succession: And to fortify his Pretensions the more, *Junia* dying in Child-Bed, he solicited *Ennia Nevia*, the Wife of *Macro*, who was then Commander of the †† Pretorian Cohorts, to debauch her, promising to marry her if he obtain'd the Empire, which he also confirm'd with an Oath, and sign'd the Contract. And having by her Means insinuated himself into her Husband, he undertook, as some believe, to poyson *Tiberius*, and order'd his Ring to be taken off while

* Natrix, *a Water-Serpent.*

† *After his assuming the Virile Gown, says* Babelonius.

†† *The Emperor's Life-Guard. They were so powerful, that they frequently made whom they pleas'd Emperor; as the Janizaries have done among the* Turks.

while he was yet gasping; and imagining the Emperor made a Shew of keeping it, he commanded a Pillow to be thrown upon him, and press'd it down on his Mouth, and smother'd him with his own Hand; and a Freedman of *Tiberius* crying out at the Barbarity of the Action, he was presently taken and crucify'd. Nor is this unlikely to be true, since some report that he openly own'd he had formerly projected a Parricide, tho' he did not perpetrate it: For in repeating the Instances of his Affection and Duty to his Relations, he us'd to glory, *That he enter'd the Chamber of* Tiberius *as he was asleep, with a Dagger, to revenge the Death of his Mother and Brother, and being touch'd with Pity, he flung away his Weapon and withdrew; and that* Tiberius, * *tho' he knew of the Thing, neither dar'd to enquire into it, nor shew any Resentment.*

13. Thus he obtain'd the Empire according to the universal Desire of the *Romans*, or rather, of Human Kind; and was a Prince inexpressibly grateful to the Provincial Governors and the Soldiers, most of whom had known him in his Infancy; and even to the whole Body of the Common People of *Rome*, on the Account of his Father's Memory, and the Calamities of his Family, which was almost destroy'd. Therefore as he remov'd from *Misenum*, tho' he was in the Habit of Mourning, and follow'd the Funerals of *Tiberius*, yet every where on the Road he pass'd thro' Altars, Victims and kindled Torches, encompass'd with an innumerable Croud who met him full of Transport,

* *The Emendation which* Torrentius *offers,* nec quemquam sensisse, *instead of* quunquam sensisset, *makes Nonsense of the Passage: For if neither* Tiberius, *nor any one else knew of the Thing, where was the Wonder it was never resented? In all Probability this was only a vainglorious Lie of* Caligula, *to persuade People that* Tiberius *was afraid of him.*

Transport, and beside the † happy Appellations, call'd him *Star*, *Darling*, *Love* and *Babe-Child*.

14. When he enter'd the City, the Will of *Tiberius*, by which his other Grandson, who was yet a Youth, was left Coheir with him, was by the Consent of the Senate, and a whole Crowd which rush'd into the House, * made void, and the Right and Power of the whole was given him with so much Publick Joy, that in the three next Months, or less, above a Hundred and Sixty Thousand Victims are said to have been slain. And when he went a few Days after to the Islands near the *Campanian* Coast, they made Vows for his Return, no one omitting the least Occasion of testifying his Solicitude and Concern for his Safety. But when he happen'd to be taken ill, the People watch'd about the Palace all Night; nor were some wanting who vow'd †† to fight in single Combat, and to lay down their Lives for his Recovery, which they signify'd in Bills publickly affix'd in the Streets. Beside this unbounded Love of the *Romans*, the Affection of Foreigners to him was very remarkable. || For *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, who always hated *Tiberius* and despis'd him, voluntarily sought his Friendship, and came to a Conference with the ‡ Consular Lieutenant; and crossing the *Euphrates*, worship'd the *Roman* Eagles and Ensigns, and the Images of the *Cæsars*.

15. He

† Fausta Nomina; *such were the Names* Felix, Pius, *&c.*

* *We have lately seen a remarkable Parallel to this, in the Case of the Duke of* Orleans; *in whose Favour the Parliament of* Paris *set aside the old King's Will, by which the Regency was, at best, divided between him and the Duke of* Mayenne.

†† *He took some at their Word afterwards, and made them execute their Compliment. See* § 27.

|| *See* p. 234.

‡ Lucius Vitellius. *See the Life of the Emperor* Vitellius, § 2.

15. He also engag'd the Passions of Mankind by all manner of Popularity. Having prais'd *Tiberius* in an Oration with a Flood of Tears, and given him a very noble Funeral, he hasten'd immediately to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, to bring home the Ashes of his * Mother and Brother, tho' the Weather was very tempestuous, that his Veneration and Respect for them might be the more conspicuous. He approach'd their Reliques with the highest Reverence, and put them into the † Urns with his own Hands: And having very ceremoniously with a Streamer display'd on the Stern of the Ship, brought them to *Ostia*, and from thence along the *Tiber* to *Rome*, they were borne on two Biers to the ‡ *Mausoleum* at Mid-Day, by the most Illustrious of the Equestrian Order. He instituted publick Sacrifices for their *Manes* to be offer'd every Year; and yet farther, for his Mother he appointed *Circensian* Games, and a × Chariot in which her Image was to be carry'd at the Time of those Sports: In Remembrance of his Father, he call'd the Month *September*, *Germanicus*. After this, he heap'd upon his Grand Mother *Antonia*, by one Decree of the Senate, all the Honours *Livia Augusta* had ever enjoy'd; and took his Uncle *Claudius*, who till then had

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* Agrippina *and* Nero. *The Mother was banish'd to* Pandataria *by* Tiberius, *and* Nero *to* Pontia. *See* p. 218, 219.

† Casaubon *says, that* Nero's *Urn is still preserv'd at* Rome, *and has this Inscription,* OSSA. NERONIS. CÆSARIS. GERMANICI. CÆSARIS. F. DIVI. AUG. PRON. FLAMIN. AUGUSTALIS. QUÆSTORIS. *The Bones of* Nero Cæsar, *the Son of* Germanicus Cæsar, *Grandson of* Divus Augustus, Flamen Augustalis *and* Questor.

‡ *The* Mausoleum *which* Augustus *erected for his Family*, p. 159.

× Carpentum, *A Sort of sacred Chariots to carry the Images of the Gods at Processions; the* Thensæ *mention'd* p. 45, *were another.*

had been only a *Roman* Knight, for his Collegue in the Conſulſhip; and adopted his Brother *Tiberius* on the Day of his putting on the Gown of Manhood, and ſtyl'd him *PRINCEPS JUVENTUTIS*, *Prince of the Youth*. As to his Siſters, he caus'd this Clauſe to be added in the Publick Oaths, *Nor do I value my ſelf, If and my Children were dearly than* Caius *and his Siſters*; and to the Preamble with which the Reports of the Conſuls began, "*May it prove fortunate and happy to* Cæſar *and to his Siſters*. With the ſame Popularity alſo he acquitted thoſe who lay under Sentence, and reſtor'd the baniſh'd, and pardon'd all Crimes which were committed formerly and were not yet determin'd. The Depoſitions which had been made againſt his Mother and Brothers, leſt the Informers and Witneſſes concern'd in them ſhou'd be held in perpetual Fear, he brought into the Forum; and having appeal'd openly to the Gods, that he had neither read nor touch'd them, he † burnt them there. And ſome Papers being offer'd him concerning his own Security, he wou'd not receive them, replying, *He had done nothing to provoke any Man to be his Enemy*; and declar'd, *He wou'd lend no Ear to Informers*.

16. Being with great Difficulty prevail'd on not to caſt the †† Authors of monſtrous Luſts into the Sea, he baniſh'd them from the City. He permitted the

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" Quod bonum faſtumq; ſit: *The ſolemn Form of Introduction with the* Romans.

† *According to what* Suetonius *ſays* § 30, *this was a mere Deceit; for he reſerv'd the Papers he pretended to deſtroy, and made uſe of them againſt the Perſons concern'd in them: And this is more probable, becauſe his Temper was ſuſpicious and revengeful.*

†† *The* Spintriæ, *mention'd* p. 208:

the * Writings of *Labienus*, † *Cordus Cremutius* and †† *Cassius Severus*, which were order'd to be destroy'd by a Decree of the Senate, to be in every one's Hand, and commonly read, pretending it wou'd be for his Advantage, to have the great Actions of former Ages transmitted to Posterity. He publish'd the Accounts of the Empire, which us'd to be set forth by *Augustus*, and which *Tiberius* had discontinu'd, and allow'd the Magistrates an uncontroll'd Jurisdiction, without any Appeal to himself. He made a very strict and punctual Survey of the *Roman* Knights, yet not without great || Moderation; taking their Horse from such as were of a vile and scandalous Character, and those who were guilty of smaller Offences had their Names left out in calling over the Roll. And to ease the Labour of the Judges, beside the four former Decuries, he added a fifth. He attempted also to revive the Custom of the *, *Comitia*, and restore their Voices to the People. The Legacies express'd in *Tiberius*'s Will, tho' it was cancell'd, and even in that of *Livia* which *Tiberius* himself had suppress'd, he paid so exactly, as to receive no Complaint. He remitted the Import of

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* Seneca *says*, Labienus *laid the abolishing of his Writings so to Heart, that he caus'd his Servants to inclose him in the Sepulchre belonging to his Family, and pin'd himself to Death.*

† *See the Note* p. 226.

†† *An Orator who had generally very ill Success in his Pleadings, the Persons he accus'd being usually acquitted; which occasion'd a Jest of* Augustus *upon him: The Architect of his new Forum* (p. 81.) *being in Fear how the People wou'd judge of the Building,* I wish with all my Soul, *says* Augustus, *Cassius* wou'd arraign my Forum.

|| *His Moderation consisted in punishing minute Offences only with omitting the Offenders Names at the Muster.*

* *Assemblies of the People, for electing Magistrates and making Laws.*

of the hundreth Part in Publick Sales, which was laid upon *Italy*; and made good their Loss by Fire to several. And if he gave back any Princes their Kingdoms, he also restor'd them the whole Profits of their Revenues and Tributes arisen in the Interim: As to *Antiochus* of * *Comagene*, he restor'd a † Hundred Millions of Sesterces, which had been confiscated. And that he might seem to be an Encourager of good Examples in every Kind, he presented a freed Woman with †† Eighty Thousand Sesterces, because tho' she was put to the most violent Tortures, she made no Discovery of her Master's Crime. For these Things therefore, among other Honours, he had a Golden Shield decreed him; which upon a certain Day every Year, the Colleges of the Priests were to ‡ carry into the Capitol, follow'd by the Senate, and Boys and Girls of Noble Families, singing the Praises of his Virtues in Verses set to Musick; and it was decreed, the Day of his Accession to the Empire shou'd be call'd × *Palilia*, as if the City had been then founded anew.

17. He held four Consulships; the first for two Months from the Kalends of *July*, the second for thirty Days from the Kalends of *January*, the third to the ** Ides of *January*, and the fourth to the †† seventh

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* *A small Country by the River* Euphrates, *between* Mesopotamia *and* Cilicia, *now call'd* Azar.

† 2500000 *Crowns.*

†† 2000 *Crowns.*

‡ *This was paying him Divine Honour; for such Processions us'd to be made to the Gods.*

× Palilia *were Feasts in Honour of* Pales, *Goddess of Flocks, instituted by* Romulus *to be held on the Day he founded the City.*

** January 13th.

†† January 7th.

venth of the same Ides: Of all which, he † join'd together only the last two without Interruption. He enter'd upon the third at *Lyons* singly, and had no Collegue; not, as some imagine, out of Pride or Negligence; but his Collegue dying the very Day of the Kalends, it was impossible for him to be appris'd of it at such a Distance. He twice gave a Congiary of † Three Hundred Sesterces to the People, and as often a magnificent Entertainment to the Senate and the Equestrian Order, together with their Wives and Children; in the last of which he distributed Forensick Garments to the Men, and Scarfs of Purple and Scarlet to the Boys and the Women: And to make an Inlargement to the Publick Joy for ever, he added a Day to the *Saturnalia*, and call'd it * *Juvenilia*.

18. He exhibited Combats of Gladiators, partly in the Amphitheatre of * *Taurus*, and partly in the *Septa*, accompanying them at the same Time with Bands of the best *African* and *Campanian* Champions, selected out of both Countries. He was not always || present

† *Consulships were said to be conjoyn'd, when the Person enter'd upon them both on the Kalends of* January, *which was the Day appropriated for Magistrates to begin their Offices.* Tiberius *dying in* March, Caligula *cou'd not enter on his first Consulship on the Kalends of* January; *and consequently cou'd not that and the second together: And as he reign'd but three Years and ten Months, he cou'd not hold four regular Consulships.* Babelonius.

† i. e. *To each Man, as appears by the Smallness of the Sum.*

* *Because he design'd it for the Diversion of the Youth.*

* Statilius Taurus. *See* p. 82.

* || *This Circumstance of being present, and presiding at the Games, is particularly mention'd, because it was a great Honour to be President, and the People were pleas'd with having the Emperor present. It is therefore observ'd as a Piece of unpopular Ill-Nature in* Tiberius, *that he was generally absent,* p. 211.

ſent at the Shews himſelf, but ſometimes order'd the Magiſtrates or his Friends to execute the Part of Preſident for him. He had Stage-Plays very often, of various Kinds, and in different Manners; for ſometimes they were by Night, the whole City being illuminated. At which Seaſons he ſcatter'd ſeveral Sorts of Things among the People, and caus'd Wicker Baskets with variety of Victuals to be carry'd round to them Man by Man; and obſerving once that a *Roman* Knight who was plac'd over againſt him, fed very heartily, he ſent him his own Portion; and upon the ſame Account he ſent a Senator a Commiſſion, by which he created him Prætor extraordinarily. He preſented *Circenſian* Games from Morning to Evening, ſometimes in the midſt of them introducing the Hunting of Wild Beaſts of *Africa*, and ſometimes the *Trojan* Exerciſe. When the principal Shews were perform'd, the *Circus* was ſtrew'd with * Vermilion and Green; and ſcarcely any drove the Race-Chariots, but Perſons of the Senatorian Order. Once as he was beholding the Preparations for the Sports in the *Circus*, from the *Gelotian* Palace, he gave the Signal on a ſudden, becauſe a few who were in the Balconies hard by, deſir'd it.

19. He invented a new and unheard of Kind of Spectacle. For he join'd together the Space between *Baiæ* and the Mole of *Puteoli*, by a Bridge of almoſt Three Miles and Six Hundred Paces; aſſembling Ships of Burden from all Parts, and having fix'd them down by Anchors in two Rows, he ſpread a Flooring of Earth upon them all level in a Line, after the manner of the *Appian* Way. Over this Bridge he paſs'd to and fro for two Days ſucceſſively. On the firſt he was mounted on a Horſe nobly capariſon'd, being adorn'd with an † Oaken Crown, and

* *Inſtead of Sand, with which it was commonly ſtrew'd.*
† *A Civic Crown. See the Note* p. 2.

and arm'd with an †† Ax, a Buckler and a Sword, and cloath'd with a Cymar of Gold: The next Day he was in the Habit of a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by two celebrated Horſes; *Darius* a Boy, one of the *Parthian* Hoſtages ſitting before him, accompany'd by a Troop of the Prætorian Guards, and a Number of his Friends in * Wains. I know ſome were of Opinion, that he fram'd this Bridge out of an Emulation of *Xerxes*, who to the Wonder of Mankind laid one, which yet was ſomething leſs, over the *Helleſpont*; and others thought he did it to terrify the *Germans* and *Britons*, whom he deſign'd to invade, with the Fame of ſome prodigious Undertaking: But I have heard my Grand-Father ſay when I was a Boy, the Reaſon which the Courtiers who were moſt intimate with him, gave of it, was, that when *Tiberius* was very anxious concerning a Succeſſor, and was more inclin'd to fix upon his own Grand-Son, *Thraſyllus* the Aſtrologer aſſur'd him, Caius *ſhou'd no more come to be Emperor, than he ſhou'd ride over the Bay of* Baiæ *on Horſeback.*

20. He alſo exhibited Spectacles in foreign Parts; as in *Sicily*, where he gave them the *Athenian* Games, and preſented miſcellaneous Sports at *Lyons* in *Gaul*, and a Prize of Eloquence in *Greek* and *Latin*: In which Diſpute the Vanquiſh'd, 'tis ſaid, were oblig'd to preſent Rewards to the Victors, and to make Orations in their Praiſe; and thoſe whoſe Performances were moſt exploded, were order'd to blot out their Writings with a Sponge, or with their Tongue, unleſs they choſe rather to be chaſtis'd with Ferula's, or to be thrown into the next River.

21. He finiſh'd the Buildings which *Tiberius* had left imperfect, as the Temple of *Auguſtus* and *Pompey*'s Theatre; and begin an Aquaduct in the *Tiburine* Region,

†† *The Arms of the* Amazons.

* Eſſeda, *Chariots us'd by the* Gauls *and* Britons. *See the Plate.*

Region, and an Amphitheatre near the Septa; of which Works one was compleated by his Successor *Claudius*, and the other was neglected. The Walls of *Syracuse*, which were fallen by length of Time, he repair'd, and the Fanes of the Gods; and intended to rebuild the Palace of * *Polycrates* at *Samos*, and to perfect the Temple of *Apollo Didymeus* at *Miletus*; to found a City on the Top of the *Alps*; but above all to cut thro' the † *Isthmus* of *Achaia*, and even sent a Principal Centurion of a Legion to measure the Ground.

22. Thus far I have spoken of him as a Prince; the succeeding Part of the History will relate the Actions as it were of a Monster. Having assum'd a world of Surnames, as *Pius*, * *Castrorum Filius*, *Pater Exercituum*, and *Optimus Maximus Cæsar*; and happening to hear some Kings, who were come to *Rome* to do him Honour, disputing among themselves concerning Nobility of Birth, he cry'd out, Εἷς μόναρχος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς, *There must be but one Prince, and one King.* And was just on the point of immediately putting on the Diadem, and changing the ‡‡ Imperial Ensigns into Regal; but being reminded, that he

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* *The famous Tyrant of* Samos. *He had for a long Time a Course of surprising Prosperity; but at last* Orontes *the* Persian *took him Prisoner, and crucify'd him.*

† *The* Isthmus *of* Corinth. Julius *and other Princes had also form'd the same Design in vain.*

* *This and the next Title allude, 'tis likely, to his being born in the Camp, according to the Verses* p. 252, *and to the Sway he had with the Army: And the other,* Optimus Maximus, *seems to be assum'd out of an Affectation of Divinity, it being the Style of* Jupiter.

‡‡ *This only flatter'd his Vanity, and was no Addition to his Power. For tho' the* Romans *cou'd submit to live in as much Subjection to their Emperors, as other Nations did to their Kings; yet they cou'd not endure the Sceptre, Diadem, &c. regarding them as Badges of Servitude, and as the Marks of a foreign Dominion.*

he was already superiour both to Princes and Kings, he began to claim to himself the Majesty of a God. Accordingly he caus'd the Images which were celebrated for exquisite Workmanship and for Crouds of Worshippers, and among them the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, to be transported from *Greece*, in order to take off the Heads of them, and set on his own; and he extended one Part of the Palace as far as the Forum, which made the Fane of *Castor* and *Pollux* appear meerly as a Portico to it. Here he often shew'd himself to be worshipp'd, sitting between the two Brother-Gods, and some saluted him with the Style of * *Jupiter Latialis*. He inscrib'd a Temple also to his own Divinity, for which he instituted a College of Priests, and provided the noblest Victims. In the Temple there stood a Golden Image of him exactly after the Life, which was cloath'd every Day in the same Habit as he wore himself. All the richest Persons strove for the Office of the Priesthood when it fell, and endeavour'd to purchase it at the highest Price. His Victims were Phœnicopters, Peacocks, Bustards, *Numidian* Hens, Birds of *Love*, and Pheasants, which were offer'd up every Day according to their Kind. At Night he constantly made court to the full † Moon when she shone

* *The Temple of* Jupiter Latialis *was built upon Mount* Albanus *by* Tarquin *the* Proud. *He was call'd* Jupiter Latialis, *because he was worshipp'd by the People of* Latium, *and was their supreme Tutelary God.*

† *After the Example of* Endymion, *with whom the Poets feign'd the Moon to be in Love, and that she came down to meet him on the Top of Mount* Latmos *in* Asia, *and spent whole Nights in the Amour.* Endymion *was King of* Elis, *and losing the Prize at the* Olympick *Games, is said to have retir'd to Mount* Latmos, *where he employ'd himself in making Astronomical Observations upon the Stars and the Moon, from whence the Fable plainly arose.*

brightly, and invited her to his Embraces and his Bed. In the Day, he held private Conversations with Jupiter Capitolinus; sometimes whispering to the Image, and then turning his Ear to it to listen, and sometimes raising his Voice with menacing Expressions. For he was often heard to threaten,

Εις μ' ἐκπεσὼν Ἀσίαν πεμψω σε.

I'll send you packing to *Greece* again.

the last being recorded, as he gave out, by † *Jupiter's* Instruction, and invited by him into his Apartment, he cast a Gallery over the Temple of *Augustus*, and join'd the Palace and the Capitol together; and that he might be yet nearer to the God, he laid the Foundation of a new House close by the Capitol.

He dislik'd he might neither be esteem'd nor call'd the Grandson of † *Agrippa*, because of his mean Original; and was angry if any one in an Oration, or a Poem, mention'd it, his having his Statue plac'd among

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* *That is, Jupiter being afraid of his Manners, humbly su'd for Favour; and assuring him, if he wou'd be so gracious as not to turn him out of his Temple, and transport him to* Greece, *he was very willing he shou'd share the Capitol with him, and desires him in a respectful Manner, he wou'd be pleas'd to honour him with the Company of his Divinity.* Caligula *with great Condescention accepts the Proposal, and provides himself an Avenue to the Temple; and not thinking that sufficient, builds him a House just beside it.*

† *Upon the Death of her first Husband* Marcellus, Agrippa *marry'd* Julia *the Daughter of* Augustus, *by whom he had* Agrippina, Caligula's *Mother by* Germanicus. *See p.* 111, 112.

Viz. Agrippa's; *for this was asserting him to be of the Family of the Cæsars; and the senseless Pride of* Caligula *affected rather to be thought born in Incest, than descended from him.*

among those of the *Cæsars*. He affirm'd also, that his Mother was begotten incestuously by ‡‡ *Augustus* on his Daughter *Julia*. And not content with this Defamation of *Augustus*, he forbad the * *Actian* and *Sicilian* Victories to be celebrated with solemn Holidays, as having been pernicious to the *Roman* People. His Grand-Mother *Livia*, he commonly call'd a † *She-Ulysses*, and had the Boldness to accuse her of an obscure Descent in a Letter to the Senate; as if *Augustus Livy*, her Grandfather by the Mother's Side, were only a || *Decurio* at ※ *Fundi*, when 'tis certain by publick Monuments, that he enjoy'd several Honours at *Rome*. His Grand-Mother *Antonia* desiring to speak with him in private, he refus'd to admit her, unless *Macro*, a Prefect of the Guards, was present:

‡‡ *Whether this Imputation on* Augustus *be just, or only a groundless Slander of* Caligula's, *'tis certain* Julia's *Character was abandon'd enough to admit it, and* Augustus *himself was too dissolute to make such a Supposition impossible. It has been thought, that* Ovid *ow'd his Banishment to his surprising the Emperor at unaware in these infamous Embraces, and that he alludes to it when he says,*

Cur aliquid vidi? cur conscia lumina feci?

tho' he durst not declare it expressly.

* *Thus* Tiberius *vilify'd the great Actions and Victories of* Germanicus, *p.* 216.

† Ulysses Stolatus. *This Character of* Livia *is just, and is properly express'd: For as* Ulysses *was fam'd for Subtilty and crafty Counsels,* Livia *excell'd in the Art of Political Intrigues and Cunning.*

|| *A Common Council-Man, or Alderman of the Town: For when the* Romans *sent a Colony to any Place, they appointed a tenth Part of them to be a Council to the Corporation, who from thence were call'd* Decuriones.

※ *See Page* 168.

sent: And by such like * Indignities and Vexations he was the Cause of her Death, having also, as some believe, given her a Dose of Poyson. Nor did he pay her any Honours after her Death; but as her Pile was burning, he view'd it from his Parlour-Window. He slew his Brother † *Tiberius* by Surprize, sending in a Military Tribune to dispatch him on a sudden; and his Father-in-Law ‖ *Silanus* he forc'd to destroy himself, and cut his Throat with a Razor. He pretended *Silanus* had refus'd to follow him when he put to Sea in tempestuous Weather, and staid behind to seize upon the City, if any Mischief shou'd befall him in the Storm; and that *Tiberius* smell'd strong of an Antidote he had taken out of Precaution lest he shou'd poyson him: Whereas *Silanus*, by refusing to embark with him, only design'd to avoid the Trouble of being Sea-sick, and to escape the Fatigue of the Voyage; and *Tiberius* had us'd a Medicine for a violent Cough, with which he had been long afflicted. Nor did he reserve his Uncle *Claudius* for his Successor, but in †† Derision and Sport.

24. He defil'd all his Sisters, and at a full Table plac'd each of them by turns in his ‡ Bosom, while his

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* *'Tis likely, his Hatred to her arose from her surprising him once in Incest with his Sister. See* p. 269.

† *Not long before, he had shewn extraordinary Favour to him, adopting him, and creating a new Title for him.* Page 258.

‖ *Page* 254.

†† *He look'd upon him as little better than a Changling, and pleas'd himself with thinking what a ridiculous Figure he wou'd make when he came to the Empire. Thus Multiplin, the Uncle of Sultan Morat, ow'd his Life also to his Folly.*

‡ *The* Roman *Custom was to lie on Beds at their Meals. Each Bed was contriv'd to hold three Persons, and thence came*

his Wife lay behind. Of these he is thought to have deflower'd *Drusilla* while he was yet a Boy; and he was surpriz'd in her Embraces by his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, with whom they were educated together. He took her afterwards from *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, a Consular Man to whom she was marry'd, and openly kept her as his lawful Wife, and in his Sickness appointed her for the Heiress of his Goods and the Empire. When she dy'd, he ordain'd a Vacation, during which it was a Capital Crime for any Man to laugh, to wash, or to sup with his Parents, or his Wife, or Children. And in the Impatience of his Grief hurrying out of Town suddenly by Night, and posting thro' *Campania*, he went to *Syracuse*; and from thence again return'd hastily to the City, without having shav'd his Beard. And ever after, upon all Occasions, and even in his Speeches to the People or Soldiers, he swore only by the Deity of *Drusilla*. His other Sisters he neither lov'd with so inflam'd an Affection, nor treated in so honourable a Manner, having often prostituted them to his Catamites. He condemn'd them therefore the more readily at the Trial of * *Æmilius Lepidus*, as guilty of Adultery, and privy to that Conspiracy against himself. And he not only publish'd the Papers

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came the Name Triclinium. *They rested on one Side; and therefore of three Persons lying together, one necessarily lay in the Bosom of him who was in the Middle, and the other lay behind. The highest Place was esteem'd the most honourable, and next to that the middle:* Accordingly Caligula *here places his Wife above him out of a pretended Respect, and himself in the midst, his Sister lying close to his Breast below, for Wantonness and Dalliance.*

* He *marry'd* Caligula's *Sister* Drusilla, *after* Longinus, *from whom her Brother took her by Violence.* Agrippina *seeing him to be a Man of a bold and enterprising Spirit, prostituted herself to him to engage him in her Interest, that by his Assistance she might obtain the Empire.*

of all the Partisans, which he obtain'd by Fraud, and by debauching the Wives of the Persons concern'd, but also consecrated three Daggers which were provided for his Murder, to *Mars the Avenger*, with an Inscription expressing the Fact.

25. It is not easy to determine, whether he made, or broke, or observ'd his Marriages with greater Infamy. Being present out of Respect at the Nuptials of *Livia Orestilla* with C. *Piso*, he commanded her to be carry'd home to his Palace, and within a few Days turn'd her off; and two Years after, he banish'd her, because she seem'd to have return'd to the Arms of her former Husband. Others say, that being at the Marriage-Supper by Invitation, he sent *Piso*, who lay over against him at Table, this Message, *Divit tuth my Wife*; and immediately led her away, and declar'd the next Day in an Edict, that he had made his Marriage after the Example of † *Romulus* and *Augustus*. Upon an accidental Mention of her Grandmother as an extraordinary Beauty in her Time, he immediately order'd †† *Lollia Paulina*, who was marry'd to C. *Memmius* a Consular Man, and Commander of the Army, to be brought to him out of the Province; and parting her from her Husband, marry'd her himself, and in a short Time dismiss'd her, and interdicted her the Embraces of any Man for ever. *Cæsonia*, who was neither handsome nor in her Prime, and who was also a Mother of three Daughters by another Man, and a Woman of the utmost Lasciviousness and Luxury, he lov'd with so much Ardour

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* *Forbidding him to consummate the Marriage, and telling him in other Words, he mov'd him for his own.*

† Romulus *seiz'd a Wife by Force at the Rape of the Sabine Women*; and Augustus took Livia *when she was big with Child, from her Husband* Tiberius Nero.

†† *She was the Grand-Daughter of M.* Lollius, Caligula's *Tutor. See* p. 178, 179. *She was marry'd afterwards to the Emperor* Claudius.

Ardour and Constancy, that he often shew'd her to the Army, riding by his Side, array'd with a * Military Scarf, and arm'd with a Shield and Helmet, and to his Friends he expos'd her naked. He also honour'd her with the Name of † *Wife*, and in one and the same Day, both declar'd himself her Husband and the Father of the Girl which was born of her. He nam'd the Child *Julia Drusilla*; and carrying her round the Temples of all the Goddesses, laid her down in *Minerva*'s Lap, commending her to the Deity to be foster'd and train'd up. Nor was he convinc'd she was his own Offspring by any thing so much as by her Barbarity, which was so great even in her tender Age, that she wou'd endeavour to scratch and tear the Eyes and Mouths of her Play-Fellows with her Fingers.

26. It wou'd be a low and trifling Thing to add, after what Manner he treated his Relations and Friends. As *Ptolemy* the Son of King *Juba*, and his Cousin German (for he was *M. Anthony*'s Grand-Son by his Daughter ‡ *Selene*) and particularly †† *Macro* and *Ennia*, who had assisted him in gaining the Empire, all whom he cut off by a cruel Death, in Contempt of the Rights of Kindred and the Largeness of their Merits. Nor did he shew more Respect or

* *The Habit of an* Amazon, *for which* Caligula *seems to have had a wonderful Fancy.*

† *Tho' he own'd himself to be marry'd to others before, yet he gave* Cæsonia *this Title in Form. It signify'd as much as* Empress, *or* Queen-Consort, *and was merely an Honour; but it invested her with no Share in the Administration.*

‡ Mark Anthony's *Daughter by* Cleopatra. *Her Name signifies the* Moon, *in* Greek σελήνη; *for in their Revels at the Rites of* Isis, *She and* Anthony *appear'd in the Habit of a God and Goddess, under the Names of* Bacchus *and* Luna.

†† *See Page* 254.

Lenity towards the Senate: some of whom who had borne the highest Honours, he suffer'd to run by his Chariot in their Gowns for several Miles, and to stand sometimes at his Head, and sometimes at his Feet, girt with X Linnen Towels while he was at Supper; others, tho' he had destroy'd them privately, he yet continu'd to enquire for as if they were alive, and after a few Days pretended they had made themselves away by a voluntary Death. The Consuls forgetting to proclaim his Birth-Day, he depriv'd them of their Office, and the Commonwealth was without the * supreme Magistrates for three Days. His Questor being nam'd in a Conspiracy, he scourg'd him, and pull'd off his Vest to lay it under the Soldiers Feet, that they might stand the firmer to strike the Blows. He treated the other Orders also with equal Pride and Violence. Being disturb'd by the Noise of the People crouding at Midnight into the Places in the *Circus* for which they paid no Money, he had them all driven out with Clubs; in which Tumult above twenty *Roman* Knights were prest'd to Death, and as many Matrons, beside an infinite Number of others. At the Stage-Plays, to set the Common People and the Knights together by the Ears, he threw about the Tickets for the Presents he design'd to distribute among them, sooner than the usual Hour, that the Rabble might rush into their Seats and keep out the Knights. At the Combats of the Gladiators, when the Sun shone out melting hot, he drew back the || Curtains, and forbad any one to quit the Place. He would change the common Methods of the Exercise, and bring upon the Stage Wild Beasts which were half starv'd and founder'd;

X *Like the common Slaves who waited.*

* *The Consuls.*

|| *The* Roman *Theatres were open at the Top. The Use of Curtains to shrow the Spectators was first introduc'd by* Q. Catulus, *who is mention'd p. 8.*

ſunder'd; and, to encounter them, a Set of wretched Gladiators, who were decrepit with Age, and even noted Maſters of Families, who were remarkable for ſome bodily Weakneſs and Defect. And ſometimes he ſhut up the Granaries, and told the People they ſhou'd faſt.

27. The Cruelty of his Temper appears chiefly by theſe Inſtances. The Cattel with which they fatted the Beaſts for the Shews, being very dear, he mark'd out ſome of the Criminals to be ſlaughter'd for that Service; and reviewing the Priſoners who were plac'd in a Rank before him, he never troubled himſelf to look over any one's Indictment, but only as he ſtood in the Middle of the Row, * *From Bald-Head to Bald-Head*, ſays he to the Executioner, and order'd him to lead them off. He oblig'd a certain Perſon who had vow'd to combat for his Health, to make good his Word, and look'd on while he fought; nor did he releaſe him till he had won the Victory, and after a World of Intreaties: Another having vow'd he wou'd die on the ſame Account, and delaying to fulfil his Promiſe, he deliver'd him up, dreſs'd with † Vervain and Ribbands, to the Boys, to drive him thro' the Streets and call on him to execute his Vow, till they made him throw himſelf from the Top of an Eminence. Many who were of an honourable Fortune, having firſt branded them, he condemn'd to the Mines, or to working on the Publick Ways, or to the Beaſts; or ſhut them up in a narrow Cage, which conſtrain'd them to ſtand upon all Four, like Cattle; or elſe he ſaw'd them aſunder in the Middle. Nor did theſe ſuffer for flagrant Offences, but either for having diſlik'd his Shews, or becauſe they had never ſworn by his Genius. He forc'd Parents

* *He obſerv'd, 'tis likely, that a Bald-Head ſtood at each End of the Row, and therefore us'd this Expreſſion, to bid him take them all away in a Body and execute them.*

† *After the Manner of a Victim to be ſacrific'd.*

to be present to the Execution of their * Sons; and then excusing himself because of Sickness, he sent him his † Litter. Another he took with him directly from the Sight of the Punishment to a Banquet, and with the highest Pleasantry call'd upon him to be merry. The Master of his Gladiators and Wild Beasts, he caus'd to be cramp'd with Irons, and beat-en for two Days together before his Eyes, and did not kill him outright till his Brain was putrify'd, and offended him with the Stench. He burnt a † Stage-Poet in the Middle of the Theatre, for an ambiguous Jest in one of his Verses. A *Roman* Knight who was thrown to the Beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he had him taken up, and cutting out his Tongue, threw him to them again.

28. Enquiring of one whom he recall'd from a former Banishment, how he us'd to employ his Time there, and the other in Flattery answering, *I was always praying to the Gods, that, as it has prov'd, Tiberius might perish, and You might reign*; he thought the Persons he had banish'd also pray'd for his Death, and sent some round the Islands where they were, to cut their Throats. Having a great Mind to get a Senator †† torne in Pieces, he suborn'd some to call him a || Publick Enemy on a sudden as he enter'd the

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* *This and his urging them afterwards to be merry, are as strong Expressions of Barbarity as can easily be imagin'd.*

* *To bring him, if he was not able to walk.*

† Atellanæ (scil. Fabulæ) Poeta. *One who wrote* Atellanic *Farces. See the Note* p. 209.

†† Caligula *seems to have set his Mind upon this particular Circumstance of Barbarity, and to have resolv'd to see it executed; for he was not satisfy'd with murdering the Man, but caus'd his Carkass to be torne in Pieces after he was stabb'd.*

|| *That is, Traytor, or* Out-Law. *The Ruffians rais'd this Cry upon the Senator, that the Persons who were by might imagine him to be really such, and not interpose to save him.*

the House, and attack him; and after they had ſtabb'd him with their Styles, to deliver him up to the reſt of their Party to be pull'd aſunder. Nor was he ſatisfy'd, till he ſaw the Members, Joints and Bowels of the Man dragg'd thro' the Streets, and pil'd in a Heap before him.

29. He heighten'd the Cruelty of his Deeds by the Barbarity of his Expreſſions. There was nothing in his Temper, he ſaid, which he ſo much lik'd and applauded, as, to uſe his own Word, his * ἀπαραιτησίαν. His Grand-Mother *Antonia* adviſing him once upon a certain Affair, as if it was a ſmall Thing not to follow her Counſel, *Pray remember*, ſays he, *'tis lawful for me to do whatever I please with any Man.* When he was about to kill his Brother, and ſuſpecting he had fortify'd himſelf againſt Poyſon by proper Medicines, † *What*, ſays he, *an Antidote againſt* Cæſar? He threaten'd his Siſters whom he baniſh'd, that he had not only Iſlands, but Swords at his Command. A Pretorian Man often ſolliciting from his Retirement at × *Antikyra*, whither he went on Account of his Health, for Leave to be abſent longer; he commanded him to be ſlain, adding, *Bleeding is neceſſary for one who in ſo long a Time has receiv'd no Good by Hellebore.* Every || tenth Day, when he ſign'd the Warrant for the Criminals to ſuffer, he ſaid he was *clearing*

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* *His inflexible Obſtinacy in his Reſolutions, which no Counſels nor Perſuaſions cou'd alter.*

† *In a proud Rage, that* Tiberius *ſhou'd think any thing cou'd defend his Life, when he was pleas'd to invade it.*

× *An Iſland of* Greece, *fam'd for good Hellebore, and much reſorted to upon that Account by the* Romans; *among whom Hellebore was in great Requeſt, for its ſalutary Effects.*

|| *The tenth after Condemnation; for by a Decree of the Senate, the Criminals were repriev'd ſo long after the Sentence.* See p. 243.

ing off his Accounts. Having condemn'd some *Gauls* and *Greeks* together at one time, *Now*, says he in a vaunting Manner, *I think I have fubdu'd* † Gallogræcia.

30. He very seldom permitted any one to be put to Death, but by small and often repeated Stabs; it being a perpetual and known Instruction with him, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat: Strike so as he may* * *feel himself die.* Having once, by a Mistake of the Name, executed a Person whom he did not design, *He deserv'd it*, says he, *as well as the other.* He frequently repeated those Words of the Tragedy,

Oderint, dum metuant.

Let them hate, so they fear.

He often inveigh'd against all the Senators without Distinction, as Friends of *Sejanus*, or ⁂ Delators of his Mother and his Brothers, producing the X Papers he pretended were burnt, and justifying *Tiberius*'s Cruelty as even necessary, since it was impossible for him not to believe such a Multitude of Accusers. He was continually reviling the Equestrian Order, for being addicted to the Entertainments of the Stage and *Circus*. Being provok'd at the People's favouring the || contrary Faction to him, he cry'd out, †† *I wish the* Roman *People had but one Neck.*

And

† *A Pun upon the Words* Gaul *and* Greek, *and the Name of the Country call'd* Gallogræcia.

* *The same Strain of Cruelty as was in* Tiberius. *See* p. 186.

⁂ *Informers, call'd* Delatores *by the* Romans.

X *See* p. 258.

|| *The Factions were distinguish'd by their Colours: The Colours were Blew, Red, White and Green*; Domitian *afterwards added two, the Golden and Purple. The Faction Caligula espous'd was the Green.*

†† *That he might strike it off at a Blow.*

p. 277. *Retiarius & Myr*

s S Myrmillo.

M.P. Gucht Scul.

And when they call'd out to have *Tetrinius* the Robber brought on upon the Stage, he said, *They were themselves* Tetrinius's. Five * *Retiarii* in their † Tunics fighting in a Company, yielded themselves without any Dispute to as many Pursuers; and being order'd to be slain, one of them snatch'd up his Trident and slew all the Visitors: This he ‡ deplor'd in an Edict as a most barbarous Piece of Butchery, and execrated those who cou'd bear to behold it.

31. He us'd openly to lament the Condition of his Times, that they were not render'd remarkable by some publick Calamities: Complaining that *Augustus*'s Reign was made memorable by the || *Varian* Slaughter, and *Tiberius*'s by the × Fall of the Theatre at *Fidenæ*; but that the Prosperity of his own, wou'd sink his Name in Oblivion. Therefore he wish'd for a Destruction of Armies, a Famine, a Pestilence, and for terrible Fires, and Gapings of the Earth.

32. In

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* *Gladiators who fought with a Trident and a Net, in* Latin Rete, *from whence their Name. They held the Net gather'd ready for the Cast, and attempted to catch the Head of their Adversary in it; if the Throw succeeded, they dispatch'd him with their Trident. The Gladiators their Antagonists were call'd* Secutores, *or* Pursuers: *They were arm'd with a Sword, a small Shield and a Helmet, on the Top of which was the Figure of a Fish; at this the* Rhetiarius *directed his Aim.*

† *A Garment more convenient for Action than the* Toga, *or Gown, as being closer body'd, and not reaching below the middle Leg.*

‡ *The seeing so many Men put to Death cou'd not give* Caligula *this Compunction; but he favour'd the* Pursuers, *as he did the Faction of the Green in the other Sports, and his Concern arose from thence.*

|| *See Page 75.*

× *See Page 206.*

32. In his Diversions and Entertainments for unbending his Mind, the same Barbarity appear'd thro' all his Words and Actions. Persons were often examin'd by Torture before his Face as he was at Dinner, or Revelling; while a Soldier, who was a skilful Headsman, struck off the Heads of any Criminals he thought fit. At the Dedication of his †† Bridge at *Puteoli*, which, as we observ'd, was his own projecting, having invited a great Number to come to him upon it from the Shore, on a sudden he push'd them all into the Sea; and some catching hold on the Rudders, he beat them off with Oars and Poles. At a publick Feast in *Rome*, a Slave having stole a Piece of Silver from one of the * Beds, he deliver'd him immediately to the Executioner to cut off his Hands and hang them about his Neck, and so lead him round the Company with them dangling down upon his Breast, and a Label expressing his Crime. A *Mirmillo* fighting with him at Foils in Sport, and † throwing himself down at his Feet on purpose, he stabb'd him with a Poinard, and ran about with a Palm in his Hand after the Manner of Victors in the Games. A Victim being led to the Altar, he stood there girt in the Habit of the || *Popæ*, and lifting up the Ax, struck down a Sacrificer instead of the Beast. Bursting into a great Laugh once at a sumptuous Banquet, and the Consuls who were next him pleasantly asking him what gave him such Diversion; *Only*, says he, *that at a single Nod I can cause both your Throats to be cut.*

33. Among

†† *See Page 262.*

* *They us'd to case the Seats with thin Plates of Silver, and it was Part of this which the Slave broke off and stole.*

† *To make* Caligula *the Complement of the Victory.*

|| *Inferior Officers, who knock'd the Victims on the Head and embowell'd them: They were naked from the Waste upward, and were girt with a Linnen Apron which hung down to their Feet.*

33. Among other Jests, as he ſtood by the Image of *Jupiter*, he aſk'd *Apelles* the Tragedian, which of them made the nobleſt Figure; and becauſe he did not immediately anſwer, he tore him with Scourges; at every turn, while he cry'd out for Mercy, commending his Voice, as having a particular Sweetneſs in it even in his Groans. Whenever he kiſs'd the Neck of his Wife or Miſtreſs, *So fair a Neck*, added he, *can I ſtrike off with a Word*; often proteſting, *He wou'd put his* Cæſonia *to the Rack, but he wou'd know why he lov'd her ſo extravagantly.*

34. Not was he leſs tranſported with Spite and Malice, than with Pride and Cruelty againſt Perſons of every Age. The Statues of Illuſtrious Men, which *Auguſtus* had ſet in the *Campus Martius*, the Court of the Capitol not being large enough to hold them, he ſo threw down and ruin'd, that it was impoſſible to reſtore them and recover the Inſcriptions. And after this, he forbad a Statue or Image to be erected to any one living, without his Knowledge and Direction. He had it in his Thoughts alſo to aboliſh *Homer*'s Poems; *For why might it not be lawful*, he ſaid, *for him to do what* Plato *had done, who expell'd him out of the Commonwealth he had form'd.* And he was on the point of removing the Writings of *Virgil* and *T. Livy* from all Libraries, cenſuring the one *as a Man of no Genius and leſs Learning*, and the other, *as verboſe and negligent in his Hiſtory.* Concerning the Lawyers, as if he deſign'd to extirpate the Profeſſion, he often boaſted, *By* Hercules *he wou'd bring it about, that they ſhou'd have no other Anſwer to return their Clients, than* The Prince muſt decide it.

35. He took from every Noble Perſon the Marks of Honour which belong'd to the Family; as the † Chain from *Torquatus*, the Lock of Hair from *Cin-

† In Latin, Torques. Manlius *firſt receiv'd that Name from his taking a Golden Chain from a* Gaul, *whom he ſlew in ſingle Combat.*

*Cincinnatus, and the Sirname of Great from Cn. Pompey, who was of that Line. *Prusias*, whom I mention'd before, he invited to him from his Kingdom, and receiv'd him very honourably, and on a ſudden murder'd him for no other Reaſon, than becauſe when he came in at a Shew of Gladiators which he exhibited, he obſerv'd he drew the Eyes of all Men upon him by the Splendidneſs of his Purple Robe. Whenever he met with any who were very handſome and had curious Heads of Hair, he had them ſhav'd behind to deform them. *Æſius Proculus*, whoſe Father was the chief Officer of a Legion, for his large and comely Stature was call'd † *Coloſſeus*: Him he caus'd to be dragg'd on a ſudden out of his Seat in the Theatre, and to be ſet upon the Stage; expoſing him to fight firſt with a X Swordſman lightly arm'd, and then with another in

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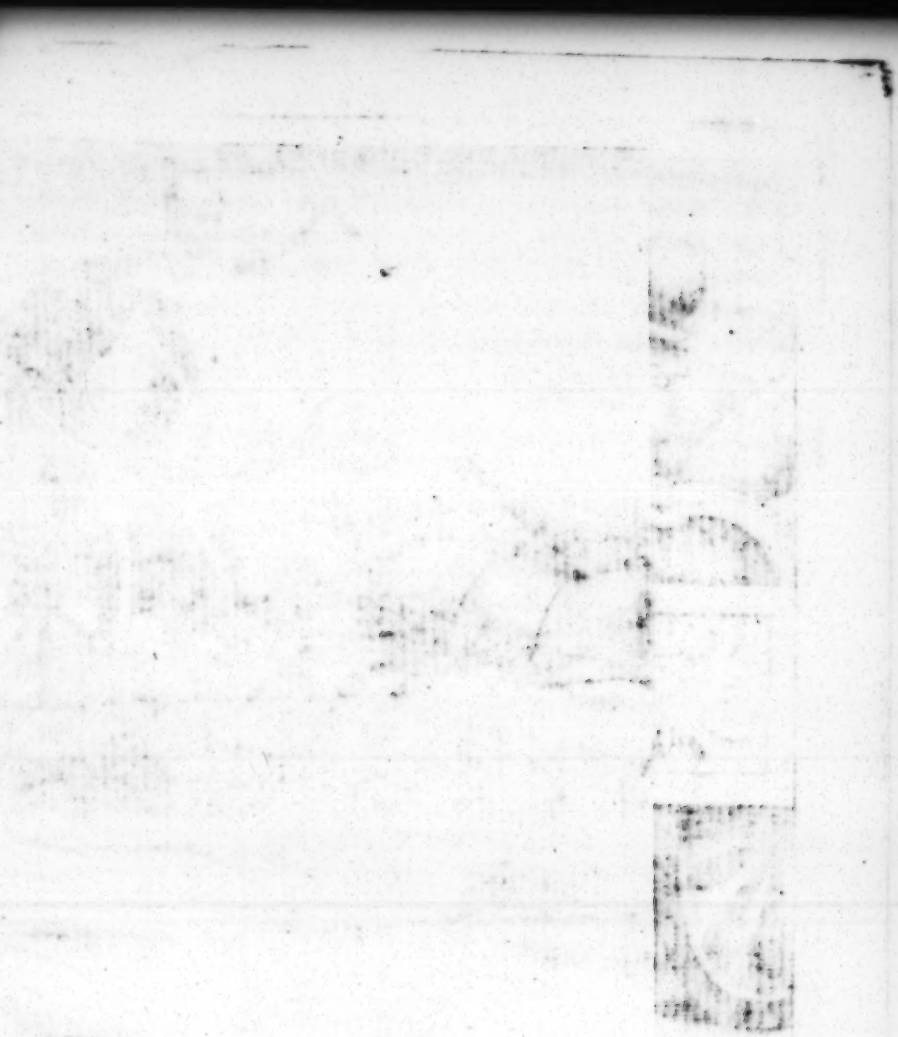
* Quintius Cincinnatus. *The Officers who were ſent by the Senate to declare him Dictator, found him in his Grounds at Plough. The Name is deriv'd from* Cincinnus, *which ſignifies curling Hair, for which ſome of his Progenitors might have been remarkable.*

——ſulcoq; terens dentalia, Quinti, &c.
Perſ. Sat. 2.

——*and* Quintius *there was born,*
Whoſe ſhining Plough-Share was in Furrows worn,
Met by his trembling Wife, returning home,
And ruſtically joy'd, as Chief of Rome:
She wip'd the Sweat from the Dictator's Brow,
And o'er his Back his Robe did ruddy throw;
The Lictors bore in State their Lord's triumphant Plough.
Mr. Dryden.

† *In Alluſion to the famous Statue of* Apollo *at* Rhodes, *call'd the* Coloſſus.

X Threx, *a Gladiator who was a* Thracian *by Birth, or was arm'd after the* Thracian *Manner.*



p. 281. Foedarii.

M. P.^{ter} Gueche Sculp.

edarii.

in compleat Armour, and having conquer'd both, he order'd him to be bound immediately, and cloath'd in Rags, and led thro' the Streets, and shewn to the Women, and lastly to be strangled. In a Word, there was no one of so abject a Condition and so low a Fortune, whose Advantages he did not envy. The * *Rex Nemorensis* having enjoy'd the Priesthood several Years, he set up a sturdy Antagonist † to dispute it with him. One Day at the Shews, the People giving vast Applauses to *Porius*, one of the || *Essedarii*, because he manumitted a Slave for having fought with Success; he flung away in a Hurry, and treading on the Border of his Gown, tumbled from Step to Step, bawling out in a violent Fury, That *the People, who were Lords of the World, gave more Honour to a Gladiator for a Trifle, than they did to consecrated Princes, or even to himself there present.*

36. He spar'd neither his own Chastity nor that of others. 'Tis said, he lov'd *Mnester Lepidus* the Pantomime, and several Hostages, and that they mutually defil'd each other. *Valerius Catullus*, a Youth of a Consular Family, was deflower'd by him, and abus'd to that Degree, that he roar'd out aloud. Beside his Incest with his Sisters, and his notorious Passion for *Pyrallis* the Prostitute, he hardly abstain'd from

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* *The Priest of* Diana, *who celebrated her Rites in a Grove* (Nemus) *near* Aricinum, *a Town in* Italy. *He had the Title of* Rex Nemorensis, *or King of the Grove.*

† *The* Rex Nemorensis *was chosen after the* Scythian *Manner. A Man who was a Fugitive, defended a Victim Sword in Hand, while several who were Candidates for the Priesthood attempted to approach and kill it; he who succeeded, was chosen. The Barbarity of* Caligula *therefore consisted in his obliging the Priest, who was now in Years, to hazard his Life a second Time, against an Adversary who was much stronger than himself.*

|| *Gladiators who fought in a Chariot call'd* Essedum; *they sometimes quitted their Chariot and fought on Foot.*

from any Woman of Quality; frequently inviting them to Supper with their Husbands, and viewing them strictly and deliberately as they pass'd by his Couch like Goods for Sale, turning up their Faces with his Hand, if any out of Modesty hung down their Head: And which he thought fit, he withdrew with her who pleas'd him most, and returning presently with the Marks of Lasciviousness fresh upon him, openly prais'd or disparag'd the Adventure, relating her bodily Beauties or Defects, and her whole Behaviour in private. To some he sent a Divorce in the Name of their absent Husbands, and commanded it to be enter'd among the Records.

37. In his vicious Expences he exceeded the greatest Instances of Prodigality, inventing a new Way of Bathing, and the most extravagant Dishes and Entertainments. For he bath'd in hot and cold Unguents, and swallow'd precious Pearls dissolv'd in Vinegar, and serv'd his Guests with Loaves and Victuals of Gold; saying, *A Man ought either to be a Niggard or Caesar.* And for several Days together he scatter'd no inconsiderable Summs of Money among the People from the Turret of *Nero*'s Palace. He also built * *Liburnian* Gallies of Cedar, the Poops of which were adorn'd with Gems, and the Sails were of changeable Colours. They were built very wide for containing Baths, Portico's and Banqueting-Rooms, with Plantations of Vines and Apple-Trees, under which he lay along with Chorus's and Symphonies sounding round him, as he coasted the *Campanian* Shore. In erecting *Pretoria* and *Villa's*, he regarded no Profuseness of Cost, affecting to perform nothing so much as what was impossible to be done. Accordingly he rais'd Moles in a boisterous and deep Sea, cut thro' Rocks of the hardest Flint, and with huge Mounds made Fields equal to Mountains, and levell'd the Tops of Mountains to the Plain; all which

* *See the Note p. 70.*

which was executed with incredible Celerity, Delays being punish'd with Death. And, not to mention Particulars, in less than a Year he consum'd immense Riches, and seven and * twenty Hundred Millions of Sesterces which *Tiberius* had amass'd.

38. Being thus exhausted and impoverish'd, he turn'd his Thoughts to Rapine and Extortion, which he committed by various and subtle sorts of Calumny, Confiscation and Impost. He allow'd only the † Sons of such whose Ancestors had procur'd the Freedom of the City for themselves and their Posterity, to enjoy that Privilege; declaring, the Word *Posterity* ought to be understood only of that Degree. If the ‡ Diploma's of *Julius* and *Augustus* were produc'd and pleaded, *He was extremely concern'd for it*, he said, *but they were really now grown obsolete and out of Date.* Those who upon any Account had made Addition to their Fortunes, he ‖ accus'd of giving in a false Valuation of their Estates at the general Census. The Testaments of such ¶ *Primipilares*, as from the Beginning of *Augustus*'s Reign had neither appointed *Tiberius* nor him for their Heir, he repeal'd as

* 6350000 *Crowns.*

† *The Design of this was to raise himself Money, by obliging the rest of the Family to purchase the Freedom again.*

‡ *Extent Patents. He declar'd them expir'd, that the Owners might advance him a Summ to renew them.*

‖ *That he might tax them higher, and set a Fine upon them.*

¶ *The Head Centurion in a Legion was call'd* Primopilus, *and after he was discharg'd from Service* Primipilaris; *as he who had been Consul, was styl'd* Consularis. *By the* Roman *Law, Soldiers had a particular Privilege of being able to make their Wills while their Fathers were living, which other* Romans *could not, and to give the Estate they had got in the Wars to whom they pleas'd.*

Solis

as guilty of Ingratitude; and set aside those of others also as invalid, if any one did but tell him the Person that dy'd design'd to have made *Cæsar* his Heir. The Fear of this driving several whom he never knew, to name him Coheir with their Friends, and several Parents with their Children, *It was making a Jest of him*, he said, *for them to live an after that*; and therefore to a great many he sent poyson'd Sweetmeats. He sate upon the Causes of this Nature himself, and came into Court determin'd to have such a Summ adjudg'd him, and never left the Bench till it was decreed. He was so impatient of the least Delay, that he condemn'd above forty Persons who were guilty of different Crimes, in one Sentence, and glory'd to *Cæsonia* when she wak'd, *What a Multitude of Business he had dispatch'd, while she was taking her Afternoon's Nap.* He made an Auction, where he expos'd to Sale what remain'd of the * Furniture of the Shews, and even the Performers; and put them up himself, and advanc'd them to such extravagant Rates, that several who were constrain'd to buy, and were ruin'd by the Purchase, cut open their Veins and bled to Death. It is a known Story, that as *Apuius Saturninus* was sleeping on the Benches at one of these Sales, *Caligula* call'd to the Auctioneer

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Solis præterea testandi militibus jus
Vivo patre datur, &c. Juv. *Sat.* 16.

Another Branch of their Revenue still
Remains, beyond their boundless Right to kill,
Their Father yet alive, impower'd to make a Will.
For what their Prowess gain'd, the Law declares
It to themselves alone, and to their Heirs.
Mr. Dryden.

* Reliquiæ omnium Spectaculorum, *which signifies not only the Scenes, Habits, &c. which were left, but the Gladiators and Combatants also who surviv'd.*

Auctioneer not to paſs by the Pretorian Gentleman there in the Corner, who agreed to the Price by the frequent Nods of his Head; nor did he ſuffer the Fellow to knock down, till he run it up to † nine Millions of Seſterces for thirteen Gladiators, while *Apuius* was faſt all the time, and knew nothing of the Matter.

39. Alſo in *Gaul* having ſold the Ornaments, Houſhould-Furniture, and Slaves, and even the Children of his Siſters whom he had condemn'd, for immenſe Summs, the Profits he had made by them ſo tempted him, that he ſent for all the Furniture of the old Palace from *Rome*, employing the Stage-Carriages and the Mill-Horſes to remove it; ſo that Bread was often wanted in the City, and many loſt their Cauſes for Want of Conveyance thither, to appear in Court at the Day appointed. In diſpoſing of the Goods, he exercis'd all manner of Fraud and Cunning; ſometimes upbraiding the Buyers with Avarice, and reproaching them that *they were not aſham'd to be richer than himſelf*, and then pretending he was * ſorry he had let the Furniture of Princes come into private Hands. He underſtood that a wealthy Provincial Man had given || two Hundred Thouſand Seſterces to the X Slaves who invited his Gueſts, that he might be admitted to his Table by Connivance. Nor did it diſpleaſe him that this Privilege was valu'd at ſo high a Rate. And the next Day, as this Perſon was ſitting at the Auction,

† 225000 *Crowns.*

* *Uſing all the little Arts of a common Auctioneer, to raiſe the Price of the Goods.*

|| 5000 *Crowns.*

X *A ſet of Slaves, whoſe Buſineſs it was to carry Invitations from the Emperor to the Perſons he deſign'd to entertain at his Table. They had frequently Opportunities of ſliding in any one they pleas'd among the Gueſts.*

tion, he sent one to him to † present him with some Trifle which was valu'd at two Hundred Thousand Sesterces, and tell him, *He shou'd sup with Cæsar by Invitation from himself.*

40. He had new and unheard of Sorts of Taxes, which he manag'd at first by the Publicans; and because their Profits were too great, afterwards by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian Guard; no sort of Things or Persons being exempted from Tribute. Upon all Provisions sold in the City, there was a fix'd and certain Excise. And for all Law-Suits, wherever they were decided, he demanded a Fortieth Part of the Summ in Dispute; and there was a Penalty for any who shou'd be convicted of agreeing or flinging up the Cause. Even out of the daily Gains of the Porters he had an Eighth Part, and the Hire for one Turn, out of the Profits of the Prostitutes. And a Clause was inserted in the * Law, by which not only the Strumpets and Bawds were assess'd, but marry'd Persons also were to pay proportionably.

41. These Imposts being only X declar'd by the Crier, and no written Draughts of them fix'd up in Publick, and thereby a great many Defaults succeeding, at length to comply with the Importunity of the

† *He was pleas'd the Gentleman had thought the Honour of being admitted to his Table, worth purchasing at so large a Summ; and therefore he makes him a Present, and sends him an Invitation from himself as a sort of Recompence. Yet his Avarice wou'd not suffer him to present the Man with any thing really of equal Value, but only with some Toy or other which he put up in his Auction at such a Price; for* Suetonius's *Words are,* nescio quid frivoli ducentis millibus.

* *The Law which impos'd all the Taxes mention'd above.*

X *Contrary to the Custom of publishing the* Roman *Laws: But this was design'd to occasion Offences, that he might levy the Penalties.*

the People, he publiſh'd the Law in Writing; but the Letters were ſo ſmall, and it was affix'd in ſuch a narrow blind Corner, that hardly any cou'd read it and take a Copy. And to omit no Way of raiſing Money, he erected a Brothel in the Palace, with a Number of ſeparate Apartments furniſh'd anſwerably to the Dignity of the Place, in which honourable Perſons of both Sexes might be accommodated. He ſent Nomenclators round the Forums and Halls, to invite Young Men and Old to reſort thither, and offer'd to lend them Money at a certain Intereſt, to pay the Toll of the Place; and thoſe who embrac'd the Offer, had their Names enter'd down as Promoters of *Ceſar*'s Revenues, by ſome who attended there for that Purpoſe. Nor did he ſlight the Advantage which was to be made by gaming with the Dye, at which by Lying and Perjury he won very largely. And delivering the Box once to the Fellow-Gameſter who ſate next him to throw for him, he walk'd out into the Court-Yard, and two *Roman* Knights who were very rich paſſing by, he commanded them immediately to be ſeiz'd, and their Eſtates confiſcated, and came back to the Company with Triumph, boaſting, *He never flung a more glorious Caſt.*

42. When his Daughter was born, he made wonderful Complaints of his Poverty, and of the Difficulties he labour'd under, not only in the Adminiſtration of the Empire, but alſo to ſubſiſt his Family; and by this he obtain'd liberal Contributions for the Child's Maintenance and Dowry. He gave Notice that he wou'd receive the uſual Preſents at the Beginning of the New Year, and ſtood in the Porch of the Palace upon the Day to take them, while Crowds of all Sorts pour'd them in upon him by Arms-full and Lap-full. In a Word, he was inflam'd with ſuch a boundleſs Paſſion for touching and handling Money, that he wou'd often walk barefoot over immenſe Heaps of it ſpread abroad in a large

large Room, and roll up and down upon it with his whole Body for a long Time.

43. He concern'd himself with War and Military Affairs only once; and that was by Accident, when he went to *Mevania* to see the Grove and River of * *Clitumnus*. For some advising him then to recruit the Number of the † *Bataviani* who attended his Person, he took a Fancy to make his *German* Expedition. Immediately he assembled the Legions and Auxiliaries from all Parts, and using Men every where with the utmost Severity, and providing all Manner of Stores beyond what was ever done before, he began his March; and sometimes push'd it on so rapidly and with so much Hurry, that the Prætorian Cohorts, contrary to ‖ Custom, were oblig'd to

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* *A River of* Italy, *whose Waters were famous for making the Cattel which were wash'd in them, white.*

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, & maxima taurus, &c.
Virg.

There flows Clitumnus *thro' the flow'ry Plain,*
Whose Waves, for Triumphs after prosp'rous War,
The Victim Ox and snowy Sheep prepare.
Mr. Dryden.

† *Besides the Prætorian Bands, which consisted of Romans, the Emperors seem to have had a Life-Guard compos'd of Foreigners; for* Julius Cæsar, *we find, had a Company of* Spaniards, *and* Augustus *of* Spaniards *and* Germans. *Pag.* 54, 102.

‖ *The* Roman *Soldiers us'd to carry their Baggage on their Backs, which with the Weight of their Arms, made their March fatiguing and slow.*

Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis
Injusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, & ante
Hostli expectatum positis stat in agmine castris.
Virg.

Thus under heavy Arms the Youth of Rome,
Their long laborious Marches overcome, Cheer-

to lay the Enſigns on the Carriage-Horſes, that they might be able to follow him; at other times he proceeded ſo leiſurely and at his Eaſe, that he was carry'd in a Litter borne by eight Men, and oblig'd the Common People of the neighbouring Cities to ſweep the Ways for him, and to ſprinkle them becauſe of the Duſt.

44. When he arriv'd at the Camp, to ſhew himſelf a ſtrict and rigid General, he broke with Diſgrace the Officers who came up late with the Auxiliaries from different Places. But in reviewing the Army, he diſmiſs'd ſeveral Centurions who had already ſerv'd the full Time, and ſome who wanted only a few Days of it, alleging their Age and Infirmities againſt them; and reproaching others with Covetouſneſs, reduc'd their uſual Premium to Six Thouſand Seſterces. Yet the Iſſue of this whole Atchievement was only receiving into his Protection *Adminius*, the Son of *Cinobellinus* King of the *Britons*, who being driven out by his Father, fled to him with a ſmall Band; upon which, as if the whole Iſland had been ſurrender'd, he ſent * magnificent Letters to *Rome*, charging the Meſſengers to drive

Chearly their tedious Travels undergo,
And pitch their ſudden Camp before the Foe.
Mr. Dryden.

* *The* Literæ Laureatæ, *which the General diſpatch'd to the Senate to notify a Victory: They were call'd ſo, becauſe they were wrapp'd round with Laurel.* Perſius *mentions* Caligula's *ſending the Senate this Advice in Form, of his pretended Victory.*

O bone num ignoras? Miſſa eſt à Cæſare Lauſrus, *&c. Sat.* 6.

Heav'ſt thou the News, my Friend? Th' Expreſs is come
With Laurel'd Letters from the Camp to Rome;

Cæſar

up in their Chariot to the Forum and the Senate-Houſe, and not to deliver the Letters to the Conſuls, but in the Temple of * *Mars* and in a full Senate.

45. At laſt, when there was nothing of an Enemy to be ſeen, he order'd ſome of his *German* Guards to be carry'd over and conceal'd on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and Intelligence to be ſent him after Dinner, in the utmoſt Confuſion, that the Enemy was juſt at Hand. Immediately he ſally'd out with his Friends and Part of the Pretorian Horſe, and made his Way into the next Wood; and having cut down ſome Trees and dreſs'd them like Trophies, return'd by Torch-Light. He reprimanded the Cowardiſe and Sloth of thoſe who had not follow'd him; but his Companions and Partners in the Victory, he preſented with Crowns of a new Kind and Name, beautify'd with the Images of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which he call'd † *Coronæ Exploratoriæ*. Another Time

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Cæſar *ſalutes the Queen and Senate thus,*

" *My Arms are on the* Rhine *Victorious*;
" *From mourning Altars ſweep the Duſt away,*
" *Ceaſe Faſting, and proclaim a fat Thankſgiving-Day.*
The goodly Empreſs, jollily inclin'd,
Is to the welcome Bearer wond'rous kind,
And, ſetting her good Houſewifry aſide,
Prepares for all the Pageantry of Pride.
The Captive Germans, *of Gigantick Size,*
Are rank'd in Order, and are clad in Frize;
The Spoils of Kings and conquer'd Camps we boaſt,
Their Arms in Trophies hang on the Triumphant Poſt.
Mr. Dryden.

By magnificæ Literæ, *perhaps,* Suetonius *may not only mean they were adorn'd with Laurels, but that they were written alſo in a lofty and vain-glorious Style.*

* *Built by* Auguſtus, (*p.* 81.) *in which the Senate aſſembled to conſult concerning Wars and Triumphs.*

† *Alluding to their having look'd out ſharply, and firſt diſcover'd the pretended Foe.*

Time he caus'd ſome Hoſtages to be ſent out of the Camp by Stealth, and then ſtarting up ſuddenly from Table, purſu'd them with a Body of Horſe as if they had run away, and overtaking them, brought them back in Irons; playing his Part in this Farce alſo to Admiration. And ſome who brought him Word when he was return'd to Supper, that the † Troops were ready, he order'd to take their Places at Table, in compleat Armour as they were, and adviſ'd them in a known Verſe out of *Virgil*, *Durate, ſecundiſq; ſe rebus ſervate*: *To take Heart under their Hardſhips, and reſerve themſelves for future Eaſe and Safety.* And at the ſame Time he laſh'd the Senate and People of *Rome* furiouſly in an Edict, becauſe *while Cæſar was fighting Battels, and was expos'd to ſuch Dangers, they were not aſham'd to indulge themſelves in Banqueting, and the Diverſions of the Theatre, and in the Softneſs of Country* Villa's.

46. Laſtly, as if he wou'd finiſh a whole War at a Blow, he drew up the Army on the Sea-Shore, and prepar'd the Slings and Engines; and while no Man cou'd imagine his Intention, on a ſudden he commanded them to gather Shells, and fill their Helmets and Laps with them, calling them, * *The Spoils of the Ocean, due to the Capitol and the Palace.*

† *To follow him if there was Occaſion.* *But* Caligula *had nobly finiſh'd the Affair himſelf in a trice, and was now return'd to Table: Yet to encourage their Readineſs to aſſiſt him, he made them take Part with him, and animates them very Heroically not to be intimidated at any Dangers, as* Æneas *does his Men in* Virgil, *after the Shipwreck.*

* *The Dauphin's Editor applies this Expreſſion to* Caligula's *having built a Bridge* (Pons) *over the Temple of* Auguſtus *from the Palace to the Capitol*, p. 266. *If we underſtand it ſo, there cannot be a more miſerable Conceit. But I rather think,* Caligula *deſign'd by it a Compliment to*

In Memory of his Victory he erected a very high Tower, from which, as from a Pharos, Lights might be seen to guide Ships in their Course by Night. And signifying he wou'd make a Donative to the Soldiers, he gave them a Hundred Denaries a Man; and, as if he had exceeded all former Examples of Liberality, *Go*, says he, *and enjoy your selves; go home now and be rich.*

47. Applying himself to provide for his * Triumph, beside the Captives and Deserters of the Barbarians, he chose out the tallest and most portly *Gauls*, who were ἀξιοθαυμάστοτατοι, as he term'd it, *Such as wou'd become a Triumph*; and even some of their Princes, and reserv'd them for the Shew, compelling them not only to dye their Hair yellow, and to let it grow, but also to learn the *German* Tongue, and to take Barbarous Names. He order'd the Vessels in which he had enter'd the Ocean, to be carry'd to *Rome* the greater Part of the Way by Land; and wrote to his Procurators, *To prepare a Triumph at as small an Expence as possible, but such an one as had never yet been seen; for the Possessions of all Men were at their Command.*

48. Before he left the Province, he form'd a Design inexpressibly atrocious; namely, to murder the Legions, which had formerly × mutiny'd upon *Augustus*'s Death,

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to his own Godship which he had assum'd, and to Jupiter, *whose Temple stood in the Capitol. It was a known Custom with the* Romans *to consecrate the Spoils to* Jupiter Capitolinus; *and* Caligula *had declar'd himself a God, and was by* Jupiter's *Invitation become a Partner with him in his Temple, to which he had made a Communication with his own Palace by a private Gallery: For the Word* Pons, *in that Place may be more properly translated* Gallery, *than* Bridge.

* *See the Verses quoted from* Persius, *p.* 289, 290.

× *The Barbarity of this Design was the greater because those Legions did not mutiny against his Father, but for him; to make him accept the Empire.*

Death, because they had beſieg'd his Father *Germanicus*, their General, and himſelf, at that Time an Infant. And tho' he was with much Difficulty diſſuaded from ſo hazardous a Project, yet he cou'd by no means be prevail'd on to abandon his Reſolution to deciſmate them. Having ſummon'd them together therefore, without their Arms, or even their Swords, as if he wou'd make a Speech, he ſurrounded them with a Body of armed Horſe: But perceiving the Thing was ſuſpected, and they moſt of them ſlunk away to fetch their Weapons, in Caſe any Violence ſhou'd be offer'd, he fled from the Aſſembly, and haſten'd with all Speed to *Rome*, turning his Rage upon the Senate, threatening them openly, in order to make himſelf ſome Reparation for the diſgraceful Reports that were ſpread about of him; and complaining, among other Things, that he was defrauded of a juſt Triumph, whereas but a little before he himſelf had forbad any, under Pain of Death, to concern themſelves with his Honours.

49. Being met upon the Road by Perſons deputed from the Nobleſt Orders, who intreated him to make haſte to them; *I will come*, ſays he with a loud Voice, *I will come, and This ſhall come with me*, often laying his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and ſhaking it. He gave out alſo, that *he wou'd return, but it ſhou'd be only to thoſe who wiſh'd for him, namely, the Equeſtrian Order, and the People; for to the Senate he wou'd henceforth be neither a* || *Citizen, nor a Prince.* He alſo forbad any one of the Senators to meet him; and omitting or deferring his Triumph, he enter'd the City upon his Birth-day in an Ovation; and periſh'd within four Months after, having dar'd to act Villanies ſurpriſingly flagrant, and ſtill projecting greater. For he deſign'd to have remov'd the Imperial Seat to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*,

|| *He wou'd ſhew them no manner of Favour, but wou'd treat them like Foreigners and Enemies.*

dria, having firſt murder'd the moſt eminent Perſons of either Order: To put which Matter paſt Queſtion with any, two Table-Books were found among his private Papers; of which one was entitled *Gladius*, *The Sword*, and the other *Pugio*, *The Dagger*: in both which were contain'd the Characters and Names of ſuch as he intended to put to Death. There was alſo found a large Cheſt, full of all ſorts of Poyſons; which being thrown into the Sea by *Claudius*, ſo infected the Waters, that the Fiſhes were deſtroy'd, and were caſt dead upon the Shores by the Tide.

50. He was very tall, of a pale Complexion, and ill-ſhap'd; his Neck and Legs were extremely ſlender; his Eyes and Temples were hollow; his Forehead was broad and lowring; his Hair thin, and upon his Crown none at all, but thick and buſhy in his other Parts. Wherefore it was a mortal Crime to look down upon him from above as he paſs'd by, or to name a * Goat upon any Occaſion. His Countenance, which was naturally grim and frightful, he render'd ſevere and ſtern on purpoſe, ſetting it by the Glaſs to look fierce and hideous. He enjoy'd Health neither of Body nor Mind. When he was a Boy, he was troubled with the Falling-Sickneſs; in his Youth, he was very patient of Labour, yet ſometimes he had ſuch Fits of Fainting, that he cou'd ſcarcely walk, or ſtand, or recover his Spirits. He was ſenſible of the Misfortune of his Mind, and was often thinking to retire, and take ſomething to purge his Brain. 'Tis believ'd his Wife *Caſonia* gave him a † Love-Potion; which, by a contrary Effect, threw him

* *Becauſe the Hairs of a Goat are thick and ſhagged, and reſembled* Caligula's.

† *The Tuft which is ſaid to be on the Forehead of new-born Foles, and which the Mare greedily bites off immediately after the Birth. This was the celebrated Ingredient in Philters with the Antients, who believ'd it had a ſurpri-*

ſing

him into a perfect Frenzy. What chiefly diſorder'd him, was, want of Sleep; for he had not above three Hours Reſt in a Night, and even that was unquiet, and diſturb'd with ſtrange Appearances: And once he thought ſomething in the Shape of the Sea came to him and held him in Diſcourſe. Wherefore he paſs'd a great part of the Night in Pain, lying awake, and being quite weary of the Bed; and ſometimes he ſat up an end in it, and ſometimes * he roſe and ram-

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ſing Power to produce Affection. Juvenal *expoſing the* Roman *Women for giving their Husbands Poyſon to cauſe or encreaſe their Love, mentions this of* Cæſonia:

Et furere incipias, ut Avunculus ille Neronis, &c.
Sat. 6.

Some nimbler Juice won'd make him foam and rave,
Like that Cæſonia *to her Husband gave:*
Who, plucking from the Forehead of the Fole
His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl:
The boiling Blood ran hiſſing in his Veins,
Till the mad Vapour mounted to his Brains.
The Thund'rer *was not half ſo much on fire,*
When Juno's *Girdle kindled his Deſire.*
What Woman will not uſe the Poyſ'ning Trade,
When Cæſar's *Wife the Precedent has made?*

Mr. Dryden.

The Extravagancies which Caligula *committed after this muſt not be too ſeverely cenſur'd; as being the Actions of a Man who was no longer Maſter of his Senſes.*

* *This Deſcription of the Terrors and Anguiſh of* Caligula's *Mind is extreamly moving, and is a lively Image of the deepeſt Miſery. His ſtarting from Bed, and wandering up and down thro' the Portico's of the Palace, is like* Virgil's *Repreſentation of* Dido *in her Dreams, after* Æneas *had reſolv'd to leave her;*

——————————ſemperq; relinqui
Sola ſibi, ſemper longam incomitata videtur

Ire

bled thro' the longeſt Galleries of the Palace, often calling out paſſionately for the Light, and looking after the Day.

51. To this Diſtemper of his Mind may juſtly be imputed thoſe very different Vices which were in him, as the higheſt Aſſurance and the meaneſt Fear. For he who cou'd ſo extravagantly deſpiſe the Gods, wou'd at the leaſt Storm of Thunder and Lightning ſhut his Eyes, and wrap up his Head; but if it were violent, he us'd to jump out and hide himſelf under the Bed. In his Progreſs thro' *Sicily*, tho' he had laugh'd at the Natural Wonders of many Places, yet he ran away from *Meſſana* by Night in the laſt Confuſion, being ſcar'd at the Smoke and Grumbling of Mount *Ætna*. As he was marching, in a prodigious Rage, againſt the *Barbarians*, and the Troops were crouded thick and cloſe about his Chariot, in a narrow Paſs on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, ſome body happening to ſay, *There wou'd be no ſmall Conſternation now, if the Enemy ſhou'd appear*; he took Horſe immediately, and ſpurr'd back to the Bridge; and finding it ſtop'd up with the Slaves and the Baggage, he caus'd himſelf to be handed forward over the Heads of the Men. When he heard of the Rebellion of *Germany*, he prepar'd for Flight, providing a Fleet to carry him off, and ſupporting himſelf with this Conſolation, That if the Enemy ſhou'd advance ſo far as to poſſeſs themſelves of the Tops of the *Alps*, as the *Cimbri*, or even of the City it ſelf, as the *Sentones* had formerly done, yet even then the Tranſmarine Provinces wou'd be left him.

It

Ire viam, & Tyrios deſerta quærere terra.

——————————ſhe ſeems alone
To wander in her Sleep thro' Ways unknown,
Guideleſs and dark; or in a Deſart Plain,
To ſeek her Subjects, and to ſeek in vain.

Mr. Dryden.

It was this, I believe, which put it in the Head of those who slew him, to give out among the Soldiers, who were beginning to mutiny, that he had laid Hands on himself, being frighten'd out of his Wits at the News of the Loss of a Battel.

52. In his Cloaths, his Shoes, and the other Parts of his Habit, he observ'd neither the † Fashion of his Country, of a Citizen of *Rome*, nor even of his Sex, nor, in a Word, what was proper for a Humane Creature. For he often appear'd in Publick in an embroider'd * Cloke, set with precious Stones; in a Gown with † Long Sleeves; and with Bracelets; and sometimes clad in ‡‡ Silk, and wearing a Cymar; now with || Slippers, or Buskins, and then with the clouted Shoes of the baser Soldiers; sometimes

† *Because he either wore a Habit, which tho' it was* Roman, *was proper only upon some extraordinary Solemnities, or was not becoming his Quality; or else he put on the Dress of Foreign Nations, or assum'd the Ensigns of the Gods. Instances of each immediately follow.*

* *The Garment which* Augustus *so much condemn'd,* (*see* p. 92) *as not fit for a* Roman; *but* Caligula *made some Improvement to it, by enriching it with Gemms.*

† *This was look'd upon as an effeminate Habit by the* Romans, *and before them by the* Rutuli:

Vobis picta croco & fulgenti murice Vestis, &c.
Virg.

Your Vests embroider'd with rich Purple shine;
In Sloth you glory, and in Dames join.
Your Vests have sweeping Sleeves: With Female Pride,
Your Turbants underneath your Chins are ty'd.
Mr. Dryden.

‡‡ *The Habit of an* Amazon; *of which, as was observ'd before,* Caligula *was very fond.*

|| *The* Grecian *Habit. See Page* 173.

in ** Womens Socks, and frequently with a × Golden Beard, holding in his Hand a Thunder-bolt, or a ↓ Trident, or a :: *Caduceus*, the Enſigns of the Gods; and ſometimes he was ſeen in the Habit of a *Venus*. And even before his Expedition he generally wore the Triumphal Robes, and ſometimes the Breaſt-Plate of *Alexander* the *Great*, which he took out of his Monument.

53. Of the Liberal Sciences he regarded ♁ Learning very little; but Eloquence he ſtudy'd very ſtrictly, tho' he had a natural Elegance and Fluency of Expreſſion; inſomuch, that if he was to declaim againſt any one, in a Paſſion, he had Words always at command. He pronounc'd with ſo much Vehemence, that he cou'd not ſtand ſtill in the ſame Place; and his Voice was ſo ſtrong, that he was heard at a conſiderable Diſtance. As he was pleading once, he threatned, *Strictiorum ſe Lucubrationis ſuæ Telum*, *To ſtabb them thro' and thro' with his Words*; for he had ſuch a Contempt of a more gentle and mild Way of Writing, that *Seneca*, who was then in the higheſt Admiration, he ſaid, was *an irregular Author with no Connection, and meer Sand without Lime.* He us'd alſo to anſwer ſuch Orators as had ſucceeded with Applauſe, and to make the Accuſations and Defence of remarkable Offenders before the Senate; and, according to the Temper he was in, to magnify or extenuate the Crime: publickly inviting the Equeſtrian Order to come and hear him.

54. Several other Arts alſo, of different Kinds, he cultivated with Application: He was a * Fencer, a

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** *To diſtinguiſh them from the Sock worne by the Comedians.*

× *Like the Image of* Jupiter.

↓ *The Enſign of* Neptune.

:: *The Rod of* Mercury.

♁ *Hiſtory and Philology.*

* Threx; *See the Note* p. 280.

a Charioteer, a Singer and a Dancer. In his Exerciſing he practis'd with the ſame Arms as were us'd in real Combat, and drove the Chariot thro' the *Circus*, and hit all the Turnings. He was ſo tranſported with the Pleaſure of Singing and Dancing, that at the Publick Shews he cou'd not forbear accompanying the Tragedian with his Voice, and openly imitating the Actor's Geſtures, by way of Approbation or Correction. And the Day on which he was kill'd, he ſeems to have proclaim'd a † *Pervigilium*, for no other Reaſon, than to have that Opportunity to make his firſt Appearance upon the Stage. He danc'd alſo ſometimes by Night. And once, at the * Second Watch, he ſummon'd three Conſular Men to the Palace, who repairing thither in a mortal X Allarm, he caus'd them to be plac'd in one of the Galleries, and on a ſudden came in to them, leading up a Dance with a loud Sound of Pipes and †† *Scabella*, dreſs'd in a ‡ long Gown an a Tunic reaching to his Heels; and having danc'd out the Tune, he withdrew. Yet he, who was ſo expert at other Things, cou'd never learn to -|- ſwim.

55. Thoſe Perſons whom he affected, he lov'd even to Madneſs. Thus he kiſs'd *Mneſter*, the *Pantomime* in the Middle of the Shews: And if any one made the leaſt Noiſe while he was dancing, he commanded him to be hal'd out, and ſcourg'd him with his own Hand. A *Roman* Knight once making ſome Diſturbance, he ſent him Orders by a Centurion to embark

† *Revels which continu'd all Night.*

* *Midnight.*

X *Becauſe he ſent for them at ſo unuſual an Hour.*

†† *Inſtruments, us'd by the Antients in their Dancing, to make a Sound. Some explain them to anſwer our Caſtanets, and others to be a ſort of Shoe according to the Form in the Plate.*

‡ *The Habit of a Woman.*

-|- *See the Note* p. 112.

embark immediately, and carry Instructions for him to King *Ptolomy* in *Mauritania*: The Instructions were, * *Do neither good nor ill to the Person whom I have sent.* He gave the Command of the *German* Guards of his Body, to certain || *Threces*, and depriv'd the *Mirmillones* of part of their Arms. *Columbus*, who was a *Mirmillo*, gaining the Victory in a Combat, but receiving withal a slight Hurt, he pour'd a Poyson into the Wound; which from thence he call'd the *Columbine* Poyson: For it was found among his other Poysons thus entitled. He was so devoted to the Charioteers of the Green Faction, that he wou'd sup and lie all Night with them in the Stable. At a Reveling Bout, he gave † Twenty hundred thousand Sesterces for a Desert to *Cythicus* the Driver; and to his Horse, ** *Incitatus*, for whose sake, the Day before the *Circensian* Games, he us'd to make the Soldiers proclaim Silence thro' the Neighbourhood, that the Beast might not have his Rest disturb'd, besides a Marble Stable, a Manger of Ivory, Purple Trappings, and a Collar of Gems; he appointed also a House, a Train of Servants, and proper Furniture, for the handsome Reception of such as were invited thither in the Horse's Name; and 'tis said, he design'd to make him Consul.

56. As he was thus raving and increasing his Enormities, there were several who had resolv'd to dispatch him: But after some Conspiracies were discover'd, and while others were suspended for Want of an Opportunity to effect them, two Persons communicated their Design to each other, and brought it to Perfection, not without the Knowledge of the bravest of his Freedmen, and of the Captains of the Pretorian

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* *He only design'd to revenge himself on him by making him travel so far upon no Occasion.*

|| *Fencers.* *See the Note* p. 280.

† 50000 *Crowns.*

** Swift, *or*, Fleet.

torian Guard; because tho' they had been nam'd as Accomplices in a certain Conspiracy unjustly and without any Ground, yet they saw they were suspected and hated by him. For it was a very strong Reflection which he cast upon them, when taking them aside once, and drawing his Sword, he protested *he was willing to die, if they thought he deserv'd it.* Nor did he forbear from that Time mutually to accuse and incense them against one another. *Cassius Chærea*, a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, insisted that he might be the first to attack him as he came from the *Palatine* Games at Noon. He was in Years, and *Caius* was always exposing him for a soft and effeminate Dotard, and putting Marks of Infamy upon him; and sometimes when he came to him for the Word, he wou'd give him either *Priapus* or *Venus*; and at other Times when he made his Acknowledgments to him upon some Occasions, he held him out his Hand to kiss, in an obscene Figure, and with indecent Gesticulations,

57. There were several Prodigies which foreshew'd his Murder. At *Olympia* the Image of *Jupiter*, which he had commanded to be taken down and sent to *Rome*, burst on a sudden into so impetuous a *Laugh, that the Scaffolding about it was loosen'd, and the Workmen ran away in a Fright. At the same Time one *Cassius* by Name, declar'd he was injoin'd in a Dream to sacrifice a Bull to *Jupiter*. The Capitol at *Capua* was struck with Lightning on the † Ides of *March*, and the Chamber of a Servant belonging to the Palace-Yard at *Rome*. Nor were some wanting, who construd the last Omen to portend Danger

* *This Omen was certainly understood to mean, that the God rejoyc'd he shou'd be shortly eas'd of so impetious a Partner in his Temple and Honours: And the Sacrifice mention'd immediately after, and the Firing the Capitol at Capua, must relate to the same; and signify, that by Caligula's Death, Jupiter shou'd have his wonted Rights and Dignities to himself again.* † March 15th.

Danger to the Lord of the Dwelling from his own Guards; and the first, to signify there shou'd be another remarkable Murder, such as had formerly been committed on the same X Day. *Sylla* the Astrologer also, as he was consulting him about his Nativity, affirm'd *his Death was unavoidable, and near at hand.* And the Oracle at *Antium* admonish'd him to beware of *Cassius*. For which Reason he intended to put *Cassius Longinus* the Proconsul of *Asia*, to Death, not remembring *Chæreas*'s Name was also *Cassius*. The Day before the Murder, he dream'd he stood in Heaven beside the Throne of *Jupiter*, who spurn'd him with the great Toe of his right Foot, and tumbled him down to the Earth. The Circumstances which happen'd on the very Day were also esteem'd as Prodigies. The Blood of a Phœnicopter spirted upon him, as he was † sacrificing. And *Mnester* the Pantomime danc'd the Tragedy, which *Neoptolemus* the Tragedian had formerly play'd at the Games where *Philip* King of *Macedon* was kill'd. And in the Play of *Laureolus*, the * principal Actor in one of the Scenes, to escape a Danger, vomited Blood; and several who perform'd the secondary Parts, endeavouring to shew the same Piece of Art, the whole Stage swam with Blood. An Interlude was also prepar'd for the Night, in which the History of the || Infernal Regions was to be represented by *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*. 58. The

X *This was the Day of* Julius Cæsar's *Murder.*

† *Phœnicopters being some of the Victims he provided for his own Divinity,* (p. 265.) *'tis likely he was now doing this Office in Honour of himself*

* *This Actor was plainly a* Mimus, *who perform'd the Story by Gestures without Words: For the others, who are said to execute the secondary Parts, were some of the same Kind, who according to the Custom of the Antients, imitated the chief* Mimus, *and repeated what they saw him perform.*

|| *This Omen was very full. The Scene of the Story was the Infernal Regions, to which* Caligula *was to descend by Death; and it was play'd by Blacks.*

58. The × ninth of the Kalends of *February*, about the -|- ſeventh Hour, as he was conſidering whether he ſhou'd riſe to Dinner, his Stomach being yet out of Order with the Debauch of the preceding Day, at length, by the ⁂ Perſuaſion of his Friends, he went forth. In the private Hall thro' which he was to paſs, a Company of Noble Boys who were collected out of *Aſia* to perform on the Theatre, being buſie in preparing for their Parts, he ſtopt to take a View of them and encourage them; and unleſs the chief Lad among them had complain'd of the Cold, he wou'd have gone back directly, and caus'd the Shew to begin. And here the Story is related two Ways. Some ſay, as he was talking to the Boys, *Chæreas* from behind gave him a deep Wound in the Neck with a Sword, ſaying, *Hoc age*, *Mind this*; and that *Cornelius Sabinus* the Tribune, another of the Conſpirators, ran him thro' the Breaſt before: Others, that ſome Centurions who were privy to the Deſign, having remov'd the Crowd from him, *Sabinus* came to him for the Word, and *Caius* giving him *Jupiter*, *Chæreas* cry'd out *Accipe votum*, *Agreed*; and as he look'd back, ſmote off his Jaw at a Blow. The reſt finiſh'd him with thirty Wounds, lying on the Ground, and gathering up his Limbs, and faintly crying, *he was alive*. For the common Word with all of them was, *Repete*, *Strike again*. And ſome thruſt their Weapons thro' his ſecret Parts. At the firſt Buſtle, his Litter-Men ran in to his Aid with their Poles; and then his *German* Guards, who ſlew ſeveral of the Murderers, and ſome Senators that were innocent.

59. He

× January 24th.

-|- *One a Clock at Noon.*

⁂ *They were privy to the Deſign, and urg'd him to go out, leſt their Conſpiracy ſhou'd otherwiſe be defeated. Thus* Decimus Brutus *perſuaded* Julius Cæſar *to go to the Senate, contrary to his Inclination, on the Day of his Murder.*

59. He liv'd nine and twenty Years, and reign'd three Years, ten Months and eight Days. His Carkass was privately convey'd into the * *Lamian* Gardens, and being † half burnt on a Pile thrown up in a Hurry, was lightly cover'd over with Turf. His Sisters returning from Exile, had it afterwards taken up and burnt fully, and bury'd. Before this was done, 'tis certain, the Keepers of the Garden were continually disturb'd with Spectres; and it was impossible to pass the Night in the House where he was murder'd, without Affright; and therefore it was set on fire, and reduc'd to Ashes. His Wife *Cæsonia* perish'd with him, being stabb'd by a Centurion; and his (‡) Daughter was dash'd to Pieces against a Wall.

60. It will be easy for any Man to understand the Condition of those Times, even by these Circumstances. For neither was the Murder presently believ'd when it was divulg'd, the People suspecting it to be a Feint of his own, to discover how their Minds were affected towards him; nor did the Conspirators appoint another Emperor. And the Senate were so unanimous for asserting their Liberty, that the Consuls did not summon them to meet in the usual Court, because it was call'd the *Julian*, but in the Capitol. And some voted to have the Name of the *Cæsars* abolish'd, and their Temples destroy'd. It deserves also to be noted in particular, that all the *Cæsars* who bore the Prænomen of *Caius*, even from || him who was slain in the Time of *Cinna*, perish'd by the †† Dagger.

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* *A celebrated Family of that Name.*

† *By way of Disgrace and Revenge.*

(‡) *See* p. 287.

|| Cicero *commends him as an admirable Orator. He was destroy'd in the Proscription made by* Marius *and* Cinna.

†† *This does not appear by History.*

THE

P. 305.

THE LIFE OF *Tib. Claudius Druſus Cæſar.*

LIVIA being *married to *Auguſtus* when ſhe was great with Child, was within three Months deliver'd of *Druſus*, the Father of *Claudius Cæſar*; whoſe Prænomen at firſt was *Decimus*, and afterwards *Nero*. He was ſuſpected to be begotten in Adultery by his Father-in-Law; and this Verſe was immediately ſpread about:

Τοῖς ἐντὸς τριῶν μὴ τέκνα ποιεῖ γαμέτα.

At three Months end the Great can have a Boy.

This *Druſus*, while he enjoy'd the Honour of the Queſtorſhip and of the Prætura, Commanded in the *Rhætian* and *German* Wars, and was the firſt *Roman* General who paſs'd the Northern Ocean, and with prodigious Labour made a new Sort of Entrenchments beyond the *Rhine*, which are to this Day call'd *The Druſine*. Nor did he give over following the Enemy, whom he

* *See Page* 111.

he had frequently defeated and had driven into the Deſarts, till the Form of a Barbarian Woman larger than the Life, appearing to him, commanded him to puſh his Victories no further. For theſe Exploits he receiv'd an Ovation and the Triumphal Ornaments. And entering on the Conſulate immediately after the Pretorſhip, as he was preparing for a ſecond Expedition, he dy'd of a Diſeaſe in the * Summer Quarters, which from thence were call'd *Scelerata*, *The accurs'd*. His Body was brought to *Rome* by the † Heads of the Municipal Towns and the Colonies, being receiv'd in the Way by the Colleges of the †† Scribes, and was bury'd in the Field of *Mars*. The Army alſo erected him an ‡ honorary Tomb, about which on a certain Day the Soldiers || march'd in

* *Into which the Soldiers were put, becauſe of the extreme Heat in thoſe Parts.*

† *See the Note* p. 267.

†† *Perſons who enter'd and copy'd the Publick Accounts and Records. They were very numerous at* Rome, *and were form'd into a Society or College.*

‡ *An empty Tomb inſcrib'd to the Dead, when the Body cou'd not be found, or was bury'd in another Place. In the laſt Caſe, it was erected to ſatisfy his Ghoſt, and procure it a Paſſage into* Elyſium, *into which none cou'd be admitted who wanted a Sepulchre. This of* Druſus *was of the firſt Kind.*

|| *According to the antient Rites of honouring Warriours Dead. It was firſt perform'd round the Funeral Pile as it was burning, and this was the annual Celebration of it.*

Ter circum accenſos cincti fulgentibus armis, &c.
Virg.

Then thrice around the kindled Piles they go,
(For antient Cuſtom had ordain'd it ſo)
Thrice Horſe and Foot about the Fires are led,
And thrice with loud Laments they hail the Dead.
Tears trickling down their Breaſts bedew the Ground,
And Drums and Trumpets mix their mournful Sound.
Mr. Dryden.

in Form, and the *Gallic* Cities made publick Supplications. Moreover the Senate, among ſeveral other Things, decreed him a Marble Arch adorn'd with Trophies in the *Appian* Way, and gave the Sirname of *Germanicus* to him and his Poſterity. 'Tis thought, he was form'd no leſs for Military Glory and Fame, than for the Offices of Civil Life. For beſide his Victories, he alſo won the *Spolia Opima* from the Enemy, and often with the utmoſt Hazard ſingled out the *German* Generals in the Heat of the Battle, and engag'd them Hand to Hand. Nor did he diſſemble his Reſolution to * reſtore the antient State of the Republick, if it were ever in his Power. 'Tis for this Reaſon, I believe, ſome have adventur'd to report *Auguſtus* was jealous of him, and recall'd him from his Province; and becauſe he linger'd there and delay'd to return, took him off by Poyſon. I have related this rather becauſe I wou'd not be guilty of an Omiſſion, than becauſe I think it either true or likely; ſince *Auguſtus* lov'd him ſo extremely while he was living, that he always appointed him Coheir with his Sons, and declar'd it once in the Senate; and when he was dead, he extoll'd him ſo in an Oration, that he pray'd the Gods *they wou'd make his* † Cæſars *like him, and grant himſelf as honourable an End as they had now granted to* Druſus. Nor was he content with inſcribing on his Monument a Copy of Verſes in his Commendation written by himſelf, but he alſo compos'd a Hiſtory of his Life in Proſe. He had ſeveral Children by *Antonia* the younger; yet he left only three, *Germanicus*, *Livilla* and *Claudius*.

2. *Claudius* was born in the Conſulſhip of *Julius Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus*, on the Kalends of *Auguſt*,

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* *See Page* 214.

† Cæſar *was the Style of the Emperor's Sons, by Blood or by Adoption. Theſe were the Sons of* Agrippa *and* Julia, *and were adopted by* Auguſtus.

guſt, at Lyons, on the very Day the Altar was firſt dedicated there to *Auguſtus*, and was call'd *Tiberius Claudius Druſus*. His elder Brother being afterwards adopted into the *Julian* Family, he * aſſum'd the Sirname of *Germanicus*. He loſt his Father in his Infancy, and almoſt thro' the whole Time of his Childhood and Youth, was afflicted with various and dangerous Diſtempers; inſomuch that both his Mind and Body being render'd heavy and weak, he was even at an advanc'd Age thought incapable of any publick or private Employment. A long Time after he came to Majority, he was under Governors, and had a Pedagogue over him, *Who*, he complain'd, *was a Barbarian, and formerly a Mule-Driver, and was plac'd with him on purpoſe to keep him in the ſeverer Reſtraint.* On account alſo of this Infirmity, he took his Seat at the Gladiatory Games which he and his Brother gave in Memory of his Father, dreſs'd after a † new Manner, with a Cap wrapp'd round his Head. And the Day of his putting on the Gown of Manhood, he was carry'd to the †† Capitol about Midnight in a Litter without any Solemnity.

3. Yet he employ'd no ſmall Labour in the Liberal Sciences from the firſt, and often publiſh'd Eſſays in each Kind of Literature; but he was not able by

* *His Brother being tranſfer'd into another Family by Adoption, he ſucceeded him in his Rights and Style.*

† *It was the* Roman *Cuſtom to go without a Covering on the Head; but this was diſpenſ'd with in* Claudius *becauſe of his Infirmity.*

†† *On this Day, young Gentlemen with the* Romans *were introduc'd into the Forum, or call'd to the Bar; inſtead of which,* Claudius *is carry'd privately by Night to the Capitol. This Paſſage therefore may perhaps be thus underſtood: That his Defects rendering him incapable of Pleading, or behaving himſelf properly in a Publick Ceremony, they conveyʼd him to the Capitol without Obſervation, and there committed him to* Jupiter's *Protection and Honour.*

by all this to make his Way to any Promotion, or perſuade the World to hope better of him for the future. His Mother *Antonia* ſaid, *he was a Prodigy of a Man, and that Nature had begun him, but never finiſh'd her Work.* And when ſhe tax'd any one with Stupidity, *He's a greater Fool,* ſays ſhe, *than my Son* Claudius. His Grandmother *Auguſta* always deſpis'd him in the laſt Degree, and very ſeldom ſpoke to him; and if ſhe gave him Advice, it was either in a ſhort * Note ſeverely drawn, or by Meſſengers. And his Siſter *Livilla*, hearing he wou'd one Day come to be Emperor, openly lamented the wretched and forlorne Condition of the *Roman* People. And to ſhew the more clearly what was the Opinion of his Great Uncle *Auguſtus* concerning him in both Reſpects, I have here ſelected ſome of the moſt remarkable Paſſages in his Letters.

I have diſcours'd as you deſir'd me, Livia, *with* Tiberius, *what to do with your Grandſon* Claudius *at the Games of Mars. We are both agreed it will be neceſſary to conclude at once what Method we ſhou'd purſue in this Affair. For if he is ἄρτιος, as I may ſay, and ὁλόκληρος, ſound and perfect, there can be no Queſtion but he may be advanc'd by the ſame Gradation as his Brother formerly was. But if we find him ἠλαττωμένον, καὶ βεβλαμμένον, καὶ οὐ τῷ σώματι μόνον, καὶ οὐ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίως ἔχοντα,* wanting in the Perfections both of Body and Mind; *by promoting him we ſhou'd only expoſe our ſelves and him to the Deriſion of the World, who are ſkilful enough to turn ſuch Things into Ridicule and Satire. And if we do not form a Reſolution before hand, whether he is capable of Honours or not, we ſhall always be full of Uncertainty, when we are to conſider of each particular Riſe. At preſent, we have no Objection to what you propoſe concerning his taking the † Charge of the Table of the Prieſts at*

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* Becauſe ſhe diſdain'd to ſpeak to him.

† To be Governour of the Feaſt, and manage the whole Entertainment.

at the Games of Mars, *provided he will ſuffer himſelf to be advis'd and govern'd by* Silanus's *Son, who is his near Relation, that he may do nothing to draw the Eyes of the People and expoſe himſelf. We cannot approve that he ſhou'd behold the* Circenſian *Games from the* * Pulvinar, *becauſe he will then be plac'd in the moſt conſpicuous Part of the whole Aſſembly. We think it not fit alſo that he ſhou'd go to Mount* Albanus, *or be at* Rome *on the Days of the* † Latin *Feſtivals. For if he is in a Condition to accompany his Brother to the* Albane *Mount, why may he not be made* †† *Preſect of the City? We have here given you our Opinions,* Livia; *for we judge it beſt to determine about this Matter at once, leſt otherwiſe we ſhou'd be always fluctuating between Hope and Fear. If you will, you may ſhew* Antonia *this Part of the Letter, and let her read it.* Again, in another: *During your Abſence, I deſign to invite young* Tiberius *to my Table, leſt he ſhou'd ſup alone, with his Companions* Sulpitius *and* Athenodorus. *I heartily wiſh the poor Creature wou'd be more careful and fix'd in his Actions, and chuſe out ſome one to himſelf to imitate in his Motion, Dreſs and Gate.*

Ἀνωχὴ

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* *An Apartment reſerv'd for the Image of the Gods; the Emperors us'd often to ſit in it at the Games. See* p. 99. *It was in the fulleſt Point of View to the whole Aſſembly; for which Reaſon* Auguſtus *did not care* Claudius *ſhou'd appear in it.*

† *Theſe were inſtituted by* Tarquin *the* Proud, *the laſt King of* Rome, *upon his uniting the* Romans *and the* Latins *in one common League. They were celebrated by both Nations, in the Temple of* Jupiter Latialis, *which* Tarquin *built on Mount* Albanus.

†† *The Conſuls being oblig'd to accompany the Feſtivals, an Officer, call'd the Preſect of the City, was choſen to take Care of it in their Abſence.* Auguſtus *not thinking* Claudius *capable of this Poſt, choſe not to have him at* Rome *at that Time, becauſe it wou'd expoſe him to have another prefer'd to it, while he was on the Spot.*

Ἄκρως μὲν ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις λίαν.

For when he is in Company with Learned Men, he behaves himſelf very unhappily; but when he has preſerv'd himſelf from Abſurdities, he certainly diſcovers a ſenſible and well-born Mind. And in a third Letter: *May I dye, Livia, if I am not ſurpris'd that your Grandſon* Tiberius *ſhou'd pleaſe me ſo well in his Declamations. For it is one of the ſtrangeſt Things imaginable, that he who in common Diſcourſe talks ſo impertinently, ſhou'd ſpeak ſo juſtly in an Oration. I am at a Loſs what to ſay.* After this, it is no longer a Doubt, why *Auguſtus* imparted no Honours to him beſide the * Augural Prieſthood, and even nam'd him his Heir only among thoſe of the third Claſs, and almoſt among the † Strangers, and only for a ſixth Part, leaving him a Legacy of not above eight Hundred × Seſterces.

5. Upon his moving to have ſome Dignities conferr'd on him, his Uncle *Tiberius* gave him the Conſular Ornaments; but when he warmly inſiſted for || legitimate Honours, all the Anſwer he wrote back to him was, That *he had ſent him forty Pieces of Gold for* ** *Sigils and other Preſents at the* Saturnalia. At this, abandoning all Hope of Promotion, he reſign'd himſelf to his Eaſe, ſometimes hiding himſelf in his Gardens and ſuburbane Houſe, and ſometimes in the Receſs of *Campania*, in the Company of Fellows of a moſt

* *The Prieſthood of the Augurs.*

† *By naming him among theſe,* Auguſtus *ſeem'd to diſown him for his Relation: For the* Romans *call'd ſuch Heirs* Strangers, *as were neither Slaves, nor Children of the Teſtator; that is, who neither belong'd to him by Property nor Blood.*

× *The greater Seſterce;* 20000 *Crowns.*

|| *Such as were not merely titular, but real.*

** *Little Images of the Gods, which they us'd to make Preſents of at the* Saturnalia.

a most profligate Character; by which, beside the former Reproach of Littleness and Dulness, he incurr'd the Scandal of Drunkenness and Gaming.

6. Yet while he liv'd after this Manner, People were not wanting in paying Compliments to him, and shewing him publick Respect. The Equestrian Order elected him twice to bear a Message in their Name: Once when they desir'd the Consuls Permission to bear the Body of *Augustus* to *Rome* upon their Shoulders; and another time, when they congratulated them upon *Sejanus*'s Ruine. They us'd also to rise up to him when he came in at the Shews, and threw off their * Clokes. The Senate mov'd, that he might be added extraordinarily to the Number of the † *Augustal* Society, which were chosen by Lot; and that his House, which was destroy'd by Fire, might be rebuilt at the publick Cost; and that he shou'd have a Power to pass Judgment among the Consular Men. But this Decree was abolish'd, *Tiberius* excusing him because of his Infirmities, and engaging to make up the Loss to him by his own Liberality: And at his Death, he nam'd him among the Heirs of the third Class, for a third Part, and appointed him also a Legacy of about two †† Millions of Sesterces; recommending him by Name, among his other Friends, to the Armies, the Senate, and the People of *Rome*.

7. At length, under the Reign of his Brother's Son *Caius*, who endeavour'd by all Insinuations and Address to render himself acceptable at the Beginning, he made his || Entrance on Publick Honours, holding

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* Augustus *endeavour'd to put down the Use of this Garment* (*See* p. 93.) *But it prevail'd afterwards very much, and was more worne than the Gown.*

† *An Order of Priests belonging to the* Julian *Family, or to the Altars and Temples of* Augustus *in particular.*

†† 50000 *Crowns.*

|| *See Page* 219.

holding the Conſulate with him for two Months; and it happen'd that the firſt time he came into the *Forum* with the *Faſces*, an * Eagle flew round about him, and ſettled upon his right Shoulder. Four Years after, he alſo drew Lots for another Conſulate; and ſometimes preſided at the Shews, the People ſhouting and crying out, partly, *Heavens bleſs the Emperor's Uncle*, and partly, *Heavens bleſs the Brother of* Germanicus.

8. Yet was he not hereby ſecur'd from Affronts and Scorn. For if he came in ſomewhat later than the appointed Hour at Supper, the Company † took no Notice of him, but put him to the Trouble of hunting up and down to find a Place at the Table; and when he fell aſleep after Eating, which he generally did, they pelted him with Olive-Stones and Dates; and ſome who had a mind to create Diverſion, wak'd him with a ſmart Blow of a Ferula or a Scourge. They us'd alſo to ſlip on Socks upon his Hands as he lay ſnoring, that waking on a ſudden he might ſcratch his Face with them when he went to rub his Eyes.

9. He was alſo ſeveral times in imminent Danger. Once in his very Conſulate, becauſe he had not erected the Statues of the Emperor's †† Brothers, *Nero* and *Druſus*, with due Expedition, he had like to have been remov'd from his Office; after which, a certain Stranger among his Domeſticks gave him a great deal of Trouble by his Accuſations. And when the

* *The Eagle was the* Roman *Enſign, and an Emblem of Royalty; and his perching on* Claudius's *right Shoulder, was to ſignify he ſhou'd be advanc'd to the Empire: For happy Omens, with the* Romans, *come from the Right.*

† *Theſe Indignities were undoubtedly offer'd him by* Caligula's *Order, as may appear by the Story in the following Paragraph; for none wou'd have preſum'd without it, to have treated the Emperor's Uncle ſo groſly.*

†† *Murder'd by* Tiberius, *p.* 219.

* Conſpiracy of *Lepidus* and *Gætulicus* was diſcover'd, being ſent into *Germany* with ſome others to congratulate the Emperor on his Deliverance, he narrowly eſcap'd with his Life: For *Caligula* was in a prodigious Rage that they fawned on his † Uncle to ſend to him, as if he were a Boy who wanted a Governor; and ſome have ſaid, he caus'd him to be thrown into the River in his Cloaths juſt as he came. From this Time he always voted the laſt of the Conſular Men in the Senate, his * Voice being taken after all the reſt on purpoſe to diſgrace him. A Teſtament alſo to which he had ſign'd, was brought into Court and †† arraign'd as falſe. Laſtly, being oblig'd to advance || eight Millions of Seſterces for his Entrance on the new Prieſthood, he was in ſuch extreme Penury, that not being able to anſwer the Bond he had given for the Summ, his whole Effects were by a Decree of the × Preſects put up to Sale.

&c. Having

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* See Page 269.

† *Uncles had a great Power over their Nephews, and us'd to treat them with Severity, even to a Proverb.* Perſius *alludes to it in his firſt Satire.*

Cum ſapimus Patruos, &c.

When ſtern as Tutors, and as Uncles hard,
We grind the Pupil and defraud the Ward.
Mr. Dryden.

Caligula was in no Danger of coming into this Subjection; but he hated Claudius, *and his Pride and Paſſion made him put this Senſe upon his Coming.*

* See Page 12.

†† *To caſt a Reflection on* Claudius, *as an Accomplice in the Forgery.*

|| 240000 Crowns.

× Of Caligula's Revenues.

10. Having paſs'd the greater Part of his Life after this Manner, in the Fiftieth Year of his Age he arriv'd at the Empire, by an Accident very ſurpriſing. The Conſpirators againſt *Caius* having turn'd him out among others when they clear'd the Lodgings, as if the Emperor deſir'd to be private, he withdrew to the Apartment call'd the *Hermæum*; and being quickly after frighten'd with the Report of the Murder, he ſtole up into an upper Room, and hid himſelf among Tapeſtry: A common Soldier running by while he lay there, and perceiving his Feet, reſolv'd to ſee who it was; and knowing him, drew him out, and as he caſt himſelf at his Knees out of Fear, ſaluted him *EMPEROR*. He carry'd him to his Fellows, who were of a thouſand Minds, and in a violent Fury: They put him into a Litter, and, becauſe his Slaves were diſpers'd, took it by turns upon their Shoulders, and convey'd him to the Camp full of Dejection and Concern, and the People pitying him in paſſing, as ſome innocent Perſon hurry'd away to Execution. Being admitted within the Trenches, he ſate up all Night among the Guards, with little Hope and leſs Aſſurance. For the Conſuls, with the Senate and the City-Cohorts, had ſeiz'd the *Forum* and the † *Capitol*, and were determin'd to aſſert the common Liberty; and being himſelf ſummon'd by a Tribune of the People to join with them in adviſing for the Publick Good, he anſwer'd, *He cou'd not poſſibly come, for he was detain'd by Force.* But the next Day the Senate being leſs vigorous in purſuing thoſe Reſolutions, becauſe of the Diſſentions among themſelves which cou'd not be reconcil'd, and the Multitude which ſurrounded them crying out for a ſingle Governor, and demanding *Claudius*

* *Of his being protected, and of his obtaining the Empire.*

† *See Page* 304.

by Name, he assembled the Troops, and * suffer'd them to take the Oath to him, promising them † fifteen Thousand Sesterces a Man; and was the first of the *Cæsars* who purchas'd the Fidelity of the Soldiers with Money.

11. Being confirm'd in the Empire, he immediately caus'd the Memory of the two Days which were spent in consulting upon changing the Form of the Government, to be †† aboliſh'd, and publiſh'd an Act of Pardon and Oblivion for ever of all that had been done and ſaid in that Time; only ſome few of the Tribunes and Centurions among the Aſſaſſines of *Caius* were put to Death for an Example, and becauſe he underſtood they were alſo conſpiring againſt himſelf. After this, he apply'd himſelf to Offices of X Piety and Religion. He appointed an Oath which he held the moſt ſacred, and generally us'd, BY AUGUSTUS. He decreed Divine Honours to his Grand-Mother *Livia*, and a Chariot in the *Circenſian* Games drawn by Elephants, like what had been ordain'd for *Auguſtus*. He inſtituted Publick Sacrifices to the *Manes* of his Parents: And further yet, For his Father he founded annual *Circenſian* Games; for his Mother he provided one of the Chariots call'd *Carpentum*, to be driven round the *Circus*, and ſettled on her the Cognomen of *Auguſta*, which his Grand-Mother had refus'd. In Honour of his Brother's Memory,

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* He was afraid to do it before, leſt if the Senate perſiſted in their Deſign, he ſhou'd ſuffer for aſſuming the Empire.

†† He prohibited them to be mention'd in the Kalendar, leſt ſuch a Precedent being upon Record, ſhou'd remind and encourage them at any Opportunity to execute that Deſign.

X Pietas ſignifies filial Duty and Reverence to one's Relations, of which Claudius gave ſeveral Inſtances, which ſhall. The Word Religion relates to his appointing the Oath.

Memory, which he celebrated upon all Occaſions, he gave a *Greek* Comedy at the *Neapolitan* Games, and beſtow'd Crowns on the Players according to the Sentence of the Judges. Nor did he paſs by *Mark Anthony* without a grateful Remembrance and Diſtinction; having declar'd in an Edict, *That he was the more deſirous to have them celebrate the Birth-Day of his Father* Druſus, *becauſe it was the ſame with his Grand-Father* Anthony's. The Marble Arch by *Pompey*'s Theatre, which the Senate had formerly decreed to *Tiberius*, and which had been neglected, he finiſh'd: And tho' he annull'd all his Acts, yet he forbad the Day of *Caius*'s Murder, notwithſtanding it was that of his Acceſſion to the Empire, to be enter'd among the Feſtivals.

12. In aſſuming Dignity and State to himſelf, he was very temperate, abſtaining from the Prænomen of *IMPERATOR*, and refuſing great Honours; and the Eſpouſals of his Daughter, and his Grand-Son's Birth-Day, he paſs'd over in Silence, and only obſerv'd them privately in the Family. He recall'd no Exile, but by the Authority of the Senate, and ask'd their Permiſſion to * bring the Pretorian Preſect and the Tribunes of the Soldiers with him into the Houſe, and that the Judgments of his Procurators might be ratify'd; and deſir'd the Conſuls to allow him the Profits of the *Nundinæ* for his private Revenue. He was often preſent with the Magiſtrates at Trials, as †† one of their Council; and when they exhibited Games, he himſelf roſe with the reſt of the Spectators, and did them Reverence with his Voice and Hand. The Tribunes of the People coming up to him before his Tribunal, he excus'd it that becauſe the Place was narrow, he cou'd not

* *Theſe Officers were not of Quality enough to ſit in the Houſe, without a particular Diſpenſation.* Claudius *choſe to have them with him for the Security of his Perſon, and to fortify his Intereſt there and over-awe their Debates.*

†† *After the Example of* Tiberius, p. 198.

hear them unless they stood. By this he in a short Time purchas'd the Love and Favour of the People so absolutely, that when it was reported he was kill'd by Treachery at *Ostia*, whither he went, in a wonderful Consternation they continu'd cursing the Soldiers for Traitors, and the Senate for Parricides, till the Magistrates produc'd before the *Rostra*, one and another, and at last several Messengers, who assur'd them he was safe and was just approaching.

13. Yet was he not altogether free from traiterous Designs; for he was attempted by single Persons, and by united Conspiracies, and at last was in Danger of being involv'd in a Civil War. An ordinary Fellow of the meanest of the People, was taken near his Bed-Chamber at Midnight with a Dagger about him. Two of the Equestrian Order also were found laying wait for him abroad, arm'd with a Tuck and a Huntsman's Hatchet; of whom one design'd to have assaulted him as he came out of the Theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the Temple of *Mars*. And *Gallius Asinius* and *Statilius Corvinus*, the Grand-Sons of *Pollio* and *Messalla* the Orators, projected new Commotions, having ingag'd several of his Freedmen and Slaves. *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, the Legate of *Dalmatia*, set on foot a Civil War, but was crush'd within five Days; the Legions which he had reduc'd to violate their * Oath, being mov'd by some Religious Impressions, repented themselves and return'd to their Duty: For when they were order'd to March to their new Emperor, either by Accident or by the Influence of the Gods, the Eagles cou'd not be † prepar'd, not the Ensigns be †† pull'd out of the Ground. 14. He

* *The Oath they had lately taken to* Claudius.

† *Anointed, and dress'd with Laurels and Flowers; which was a* Roman *Custom to give a happy Omen to an Enterprise. In the present Case 'tis likely they said, the Eagles wou'd not adhere, nor the Greens keep on.*

†† *The Staff of the Ensign was stuck into the Ground; if it did not arise easily at the Pull, it boded Misfortune.*

14. He held four Conſulates after his firſt: The firſt two of which he * conjoin'd; the others were with the Interval of four Years; the laſt he bore for ſix Months, and the reſt for two only; the third time, contrary to the Example of any former Prince, he was choſen in the Room of one who dy'd. While he was Conſul, and afterwards, he adminiſter'd Juſtice with the laſt Attention and Application, even upon the Days of rejoicing for himſelf or his Friends, and upon the antient Feſtivals, and the Times belonging to Religious Rites. Nor did he always follow the Letter of the Laws, but temper'd the Rigour or Lenity of them according to the Rules of Equity and Juſtice, where he ſaw it convenient. For thoſe who had loſt their Suits before the lower Judges by † exceeding in their Demands, he permitted to renew them again; and when any were convicted of flagrant Frauds, he exceeded the Penalties appointed by Law, and condemn'd them to the Beaſts.

15. In examining and making his Deciſions, he acted with great Variety: For ſometimes he was very wary and cruſt, and ſometimes haſty and precipitate, and at other times he was trifling and juſt like a Mad Man. When he review'd the Decuries of the Judges, whoever waving the ✕ *Jus Liberorum*, by which he was privileg'd not to attend, appear'd and anſwer'd to his Name, he diſmiſs'd him as a Perſon too ambitious of the Office. And one of them being ſummon'd upon a Cauſe of his own before the Emperor, and replying that the Matter lay properly before the ordinary Judge, he immediately nam'd him to hear it, and made him determine the Affair himſelf, that by his Deciſion in his own

* *See the Note*, p. 261.

† *If a Debtor claim'd more than his Due, by the* Roman *Law he loſt his Debt.*

✕ *See the Note*, p. 213.

Cauſe, it might appear how juſt he would be in another's. A certain Woman refuſing to acknowledge her Son, and the Proofs being doubtful on both ſides, he oblig'd her to confeſs the Fact, by ordering her to marry the Youth. He made no Difficulty to give Judgment againſt ſuch as were abſent in Favour of thoſe who appear'd in Court, never regarding whether their Abſence proceeded from willful Negligence, or from Neceſſity. Some Body crying out once upon a Trial, that a Man who was guilty of Forgery ought to have his Hands cut off, he call'd for the Executioner immediately to bring in an Ax and a Butcher's Block. A Perſon being arraign'd for not having a legal Title to the Privileges of a *Roman*, a ridiculous Diſpute aroſe between the Advocates on either Hand, whether he ought to plead dreſs'd in a * Gown or a † Cloke; on which Occaſion, to ſhew he wou'd adjuſt it in the moſt accurate and impartial Manner, he order'd him to change his Habit alternately, as he was accus'd or defended. In one Cauſe he is ſaid to have read his Judgment out of his ‖ Note-Book thus, *I decree it for thoſe who ſpoke the Truth.* He render'd himſelf ſo mean and little by theſe Things, that every one openly deſpis'd him. Some Body excuſing a Witneſs that was ſummon'd out of one of the Provinces, and alledging he cou'd not appear ſo ſoon, and not aſſigning the Reaſon of it till after a World of Queſtions, *Why*, ſays he, *he is dead at* Puteoli. Another returning him Thanks for permitting him to make his Defence when he was accus'd, *But this is no more*, he added, *than what was always allow'd.* I have alſo heard ſome antient Men

* *The Habit of a* Roman *Citizen.*

† *The Habit of a Stranger, who had not the Rights of a Citizen of* Rome.

‖ *In this he ſeems to have imitated* Auguſtus, *who us'd to read his Anſwers and Orders from a Book of Minutes*; p. 130.

Man ſay, the Pleaders were wont to abuſe his Patience ſo ſhamefully, that they not only call'd to him to ſtay, as he came down from the Tribunal, but held him by the Skirts of his Gown, and ſometimes by his Feet. And leſt any ſhou'd be ſurpriz'd at this, a *Greekling*, a contemptible Dabbler in Cauſes, had the Aſſurance to tell him, Καὶ σὺ γέρων εἶ, καὶ μωρός, *Thou art both an old Man and a Fool.* It is well known, that a *Roman* Knight, who by the Malice of his Enemies was falſly accus'd of treating Women obſcenely, when he ſaw the common Proſtitutes cited into Court againſt him, and their Teſtimony receiv'd, loudly upbraided his Folly and Barbarity, and threw his Style and his Table-Book, which he held in his Hand, ſo violently at his Head, that he wounded him in the Face.

16. He bore the Office of Queſtor, which had been omitted for a * long Time, after *Paullus* and *Plancus*; and in this alſo he behav'd himſelf very unequally, and with a ſtrange Variety of Underſtanding and Succeſs. † At a Review of the Knights, he diſmiſs'd without Ignominy a Youth who was very ſcandalous, becauſe his Father declar'd he had a perfectly good Opinion of him, ſaying, *He has his own Cenſor.* † Another who was noted for Corruptions and Adulteries, he only adviſ'd *to indulge his Inclinations more ſparingly, or at leaſt with greater Caution*; adding, *For what Reaſon have I to know what Miſtreſs you keep?* And when at the Intreaties of his Friends he repeal'd the Cenſure he had laid upon another of the Knights, *However*, ſays he, *the* || *Blot will remain.* A Perſon of noble Character, and the Chief of the Province of *Greece*, happening not to underſtand the

* *Sixty-nine Years.*

† *Of the Knights, whom* Claudius *was now reviewing.*

|| *Tho' the Judicial Cenſure was now recall'd, yet that he had once incurr'd it, wou'd be always remember'd againſt him as a Blemiſh.*

Latin Tongue, he not only struck him out of the Judges Roll, but also pronounc'd him a * Stranger. He oblig'd every one also to give an Account of his Behaviour by Word of Mouth, as well as he was able, allowing him no Patron to assist him in his Story. He branded many, and several who did not expect it, and for a new sort of Crime, because they went out of *Italy* without his Knowledge and Leave. And one he censur'd, because he had join'd himself to the † Train of one of the Kings in the Provinces; alledging, that in former Times, *Rabirius Postumus* was impeach'd before the Judges of Treason, for having follow'd *Ptolemy* to *Alexandria*, tho' it was to recover a Debt. He proceeded to blemish more, but by the Carefulness of the Officers who inform'd him of their Characters, and to his own Shame, he found them innocent of the Charge. And those whom he tax'd with Celibacy, or Want of Children, or Poverty, prov'd themselves to be marry'd, and to be Fathers, and rich. And even one whom he accus'd of stabbing himself, pull'd off his Gloaths, and shew'd there was no Print of a Wound upon his Body. The † remarkable Passages in his Censorship were these; A Silver Chariot, very finely made, was to be sold in the *Sigillaria* Street, he commanded it to be bought, and to be broken in Pieces before him; and in one Day he publish'd twenty Edicts, one of which was, *That since there was a very fruitful Vintage, they should take Care to have their Vessels well pitch'd*; and

* *See the Note just above.*

‡ *It was thought a Degree of Servitude, and a Diminution of the Dignity of the* Roman *People, for a* Roman *to accept a Service or Employment under a foreign Prince.* Rabirius *was arraign'd for this Crime, and* Cicero *has left us an Oration in his Defence.*

†† *Remarkable for Weakness and Absurdity.*

and another, *That nothing was ſo good againſt the Bite of a Viper, as the* || *Juice of a Yew-Tree.*

17. He undertook only one Expedition, and that was of ſmall Importance. For the Triumphal Ornaments which the Senate had decreed him he thought were too low an Honour to his Majeſty, and being willing to have the Glory of a * juſt Triumph, he made Choice of *Britain* for the Scene where to merit it, which had never been attempted by any ſince *Julius*, and was now in an Inſurrection, becauſe ſome Fugitives, whom they demanded, were not reſtor'd. As he ſail'd hither from *Oſtia*, he was twice in Danger of being drown'd by a violent † Whirlwind, near || *Liguria*, and near the †† *Stœchades*: Wherefore he perform'd his Journey from *Marſeilles* to ‡ *Geſſoriacum* on foot, and there croſs'd the Seas: And Part of the Iſland yielding to him in a few Days without Battel or Bloodſhed, he return'd to *Rome* the Sixth Month after his ſetting out, and triumph'd with the greateſt Magnificence. To the beholding of this Pomp, he not only permitted the Governors of the Provinces to repair to the City, but ſuffer'd ſeveral of the Exiles alſo to return. Among the Spoils of the Enemy, he affix'd at the Front of the Palace a Naval Crown, juſt by the Civic, as a Token that he had paſs'd over, and in a manner ſubdu'd the Ocean. His Wife *Meſſalina* follow'd his Chariot

|| Claudius *is thought to have been very much out in his Preſcription, becauſe the Juice of this Tree is ſaid to be venemous.*

* *A full Triumph with all its Glory.*

† Circius Ventus, *A furious Eddy Wind, peculiar to* Gallia Narbonenſis.

|| *A Country of* Italy *by the Sea-ſide, call'd* la Rivera de Genoua.

†† *Three Iſlands not far from* Marſeilles, *now the Iſles* d'Hieres.

‡ *St.* Omer's, *according to* Turnebus.

Chariot in a *Carpentum*; after which came those who had obtain'd the Triumphal Ornaments in the same War, and the rest march'd on foot in the *Pratexta*; but *Crassus Frugi* was mounted on a caparison'd Horse, and wore a Vest embroider'd with Palm, because it was the second time of his accompanying such a Shew.

18. He was extremely careful to preserve the City in Safety, and to furnish it with Provisions. A Fire breaking out in the * *Æmilian* Buildings, and burning furiously, he sate up two Nights in the ‖ *Diribitorium*; and the Soldiers and the Companies of the Gladiators not being Hands enough for the Occasion, he caus'd the Magistrates to summon in the Common People from every Quarter to assist him; and placing a Heap of Money before him, encourag'd them to exert themselves, assuring them every one shou'd immediately be rewarded for his Pains. A Scarcity happening, by reason of several Years successively barren, he was stop'd in the middle of the *Forum* by the Rabble, who threw Heaps of broken Bread and Offals at him, and he escap'd with much Difficulty thro' a Back-door to the Palace: Upon this he contriv'd all manner of Ways to bring Supplies to the City, even in the Winter. For he offer'd large Gains to the Merchants; and whatever Losses happen'd by the Dangers of the Seas, he took them upon himself; and for all who shou'd build Ships of Burden, he appointed great Advantages, according to every Man's Condition. To the Citizens he gave an Exemption from the † *Papian-Popæan* Law; to the *Latins*, the Privileges of *Romans*; and to the Women, the

* *Jus*

* *A Range of Buildings without the City-Gates.*

‖ *A Building begun by* Agrippa, *for the Officers* (Diribitores) *who gave out Tickets to the People as they went to vote at Elections in the* Campus Martius.

† *A Law strictly enforcing Marriages: It was call'd so from the Consuls* Papius Mutilus, *and* Q. Popeus, *by whom it was pass'd.*

* *Jus Quatuor Liberorum*; which Conſtitutions of his are obſerv'd at this Day.

19. He rais'd ſeveral Edifices, which were rather great than neceſſary: The Principal of them were the † Aqueduct begun by *Caius*, a Sluce to the *Fucine* Lake, and the Haven at *Oſtia*; tho' of the two laſt, he knew one was refus'd to the †† *Marſians* by *Auguſtus* when they earneſtly deſir'd it, and the other was often deſign'd by *Julius*, and omitted becauſe of the Difficulties. The Springs of the X *Claudian* Water, which were cold and fruitful, of which one was call'd the *Cerulian*, and the other the *Curtian* and the *Alludine*, he brought into the City, and alſo the Channel of the *Anien* by a Canal of Stone, and divided them into a great many very beautiful Lakes. His Undertaking to empty the *Fuſine* Lake, was as much from a Hope of Profit, as from Ambition of Glory; ſeveral private Perſons having offer'd to perform it, on Condition they might have the Soil granted to them when it was drain'd. And having partly dug thro', and partly levell'd the Mountain for the Length of three Miles, with a World of Labour he diſcharg'd the Canal; but it was after eleven Years Space, tho' Thirty Thouſand Workmen were continually employ'd upon it without Intermiſſion. He form'd the Port of *Oſtia*, producing the Works on each Hand, and making a large Mole in the Depth of the Sea at the Entrance of the Harbour; to ſtrengthen the Foundation of which, he ſunk there the Ship which brought the huge

* The Privilege of four Children; *by which a Woman who had been the Mother of that Number, was made capable of inheriting from her Children, which otherwiſe by the* Roman *Laws Women can'd not do.*

† *See Page* 263.

†† *A People of* Latium, *who dwelt near the Lake.*

X *Call'd ſo from* Claudius, *who thus laid them into the City.*

huge *; Obelisk from *Egypt*, and fixing down Piles, erected on them a very high Tower like the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, by Fires in the Night to direct Mariners in their Steering.

20. He often gave Congiaries to the People, and exhibited many Shews and very magnificent; not only such as were usual, and in the accustom'd Places, but several also of his own inventing, and antient ones reviv'd, and in those Parts where they had never been before. He declar'd the Games for the Dedication of *Pompey*'s Theatre, from his Tribunal in the *Orchestra*, having first made his Supplications in the *Temple which was over it, and past'd from thence to the Pit, the whole Assembly † keeping their Seats, and being silent as he past'd along. He held also the Secular Games, as if they had been anticipated by *Augustus*, and not reserv'd to the proper Time; tho' in his own History he says, *That after they had been long interrupted, Augustus made a very exact Computation of the Years, and reduc'd them into Order.* The Proclamation of the Cryer therefore was laugh'd at, who with the wonted Solemnity invited all *to the Games which no Man had yet seen, nor shou'd ever behold again*: For several were then living, who had seen them before; and some of the Actors who had perform'd in the former, appear'd also in these. He had also the *Circensian* Sports frequently play'd in the *Vatican*, interposing sometimes a Hunting of Wild Beasts at the End of every fifth Career. He adorn'd the largest *Circus* with Marble Barriers and Golden Goals, which us'd formerly to be of common Stone and Wood; and provided distinct Seats for the Senators, who before

* *A large Stone, square and of a huge Height, sharpening to a Point by Degrees, and inscrib'd with Hieroglifical Sculptures.*

* Of Venus, *which was frequently built over other Temples.*

† *Which shew'd their Contempt of* Claudius.

fore Sets promiscuously with the People. Beside the Chariot-Races, he exhibited the *Troja* Exercise and Chases of Wild Beasts of *Africa*, by a Troop of the Prætorian Horse, led up by the Tribunes and the * Præfect himself. And a Body of *Thessalian* Horsemen drove fierce Bulls round the *Circus*, and when they had tir'd them out, leap'd upon them and pull'd them down by the Horns. Combats of Gladiators he also exhibited in several Places, and in great Numbers. He gave one yearly in the Prætorian Camp, without any Huntings of Beasts or pompous Preparations; and one in the *Septa* with the full Formalities, and another which was uncommon and very short, for it lasted but a few Days, which he us'd to call a *Sportula*, *A small Treat*; for when he first declar'd it, he said, that *He invited the People as it were to a running Banquet.* Nor was he more free and familiar at any of the Shews, than at these; thrusting out his left Hand with the common People, and telling over upon his † Fingers the Money which was given to the Victors, and counting it aloud; often calling upon the Company also to be merry, and styling them *Masters*, and throwing in low and far-fetch'd Jests. Thus when the Spectators cry'd out for *Palumbus*, *Ye shall have him*, says he, *as soon*

* *The* Præfectus-Prætorianus, *or Captain of the Prætorian Guards; not the Præfect of the City.*

† *The Antients us'd to reckon upon their Fingers; they us'd the left Hand for all Numbers under* 100, *after which they employ'd the Right. To this Custom* Juvenal *alludes, Sat.* 10.

——Qui tot per sæcula vitam
Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computat annos.

Blest, to defraud the Grave so long, to mount
His unnumbred Years, and on his Right Hand count.
Mr. Dryden.

soon as he is X *caught*. And giving a Discharge with universal Approbation to an *Ædilevir*, for whom his four Sons interceded, he immediately publish'd a Billet, in which he reminded the People, *how much every one ought to endeavour to bring up Children, since they saw what a Favour a Gladiator had obtain'd by the Interest of his Sons*. He represented in the *Campus Martius*, the Siege and storming of a Town according to the Rules of War, and the Kings of *Britain* surrendring themselves to him, and presided at the Shew in his General's Robe. When he was going to empty the *Fucine* Lake, he first caus'd a Sea-Fight to be perform'd upon it; but the Champions calling out to him, *Save you, Emperor, those who are to die salute thee*, he answer'd, *Save you also*: Upon this, as if he excus'd them from the Fight, no Man caring to strike a Stroke, he consider'd for some Time whether he shou'd not destroy them all by Fire and Sword; and at length leaping from his Seat, he ran along the Side of the Lake, shaking and trembling in a ridiculous Manner, and partly by Threats and partly by Incouragements, prevail'd upon them to begin the Battel. In it the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* Fleets engag'd, each of which consisted of twelve Gallies carrying three Banks of Rowers; and a Silver Triton, arising from the Middle of the Lake by Machinery, blew the Charge.

21. With respect to Religious Rites, and Civil and Military Customs, and concerning the several Orders both at Home and Abroad, he either corrected several Things, or reviv'd some which were obsolete, or made new Institutions. In choosing the Priests by their Colleges, he never nam'd them but upon his * Oath. Nor did he fail as often as an Earthquake happen'd in the City, to make the Pretor call an Assembly

X *A Pun upon his Name* Palumbus, *which is deriv'd from* Palumba, *a Pigeon.*

* *That he had made the best Choice he cou'd.*

Aſſembly and proclaim a Day for Devotion; or if an ill-omen'd Bird was ſeen in the City or the *Capitol*, to hold a Supplication to the Gods, which he began himſelf by the Right of being High-Prieſt, having firſt deliver'd an Admonition to the People from the *Roſtra*, and caus'd all the †† Mechanicks and Slaves to be remov'd.

22. The Time for hearing of Cauſes, which before was divided into Winter and Summer-Months, he appointed to be the whole Year without Diſtinction; and whereas the Magiſtrates took Cognizance of Perſons falſifying their Truſt but once a Year, and only in the City, he ordain'd it ſhou'd be done at all Times, and even by the Rulers in the Provinces. The Clauſe which *Tiberius* added to the † *Papiæ-Poppiæ* Law, as if Men of Sixty Years old were not able to beget Children, he alter'd. He decreed that the Guardians of Wards in * Caſes extraordinary, ſhou'd be nominated by the Conſuls, and that ſuch as were interdicted the Provinces by the Magiſtrates, ſhou'd be alſo remov'd from the City, and ſent out of *Italy*. He ſentenc'd ſome after a new Manner, forbidding them to go above twenty Miles from the City. When he was to decide any Matters of Importance, he ſate in the Tribune's Seat between both the Conſuls: And the Power of granting Paſſes, for which the Senate us'd to be apply'd to, he aſſum'd to himſelf.

23. He

†† *Becauſe theſe were Foreigners, and they were not thought worthy to mix with the* Romans *in Religious Rites.*

† *The Law mention'd above.*

* *When the Father had nam'd no Guardian, and there was no near Relation to take the Charge, the Prætor and others appointed one. This Power* Claudius *now transferr'd to the Conſuls.*

23. He permitted even the *Procuratores Ducenarii* to use the Consular Ensigns; and those who refus'd the Senatorian Dignity, he deprive'd also of the Equestrian. Tho' at the beginning of his Reign he had declar'd he would make no Man a Senator, who was not the Great Grand-Son of a Roman Citizen, he gave the Habit to the Son of his || Freeman; but upon Condition he shou'd first be adopted by a Roman Knight: Yet even thus being afraid of Censure, he affirm'd, that his Progenitor *Appius Caecus* introduc'd the Sons of Freemen into the Senate; not considering that in the Days of *Appius*, and for some Time after, not those who were manumitted, but those who descended from them and were free-born, were term'd *Libertini*, or *Free*. He appointed the College of Questors, instead of looking to the Ways, to take Care of the Gladiatory Shews; and removing them from the Charge of the Havens and the Government of *Gaul*, he restor'd to them the Management of the Treasury of *Saturn*, which had been executed in the mean time by the Prætors, or by Persons who had been Prætors. He bestow'd the Triumphal Ornaments on *Silanus*, who was contracted to his Daughter, tho' he was under Age; and imparted them to such a Multitude of Persons who were come to Majority, and with so much Readiness, that there was a Letter extant in the Name of all the Legions, in which they desire *he wou'd with the Consent of the Army also grant the Triumphal Ornaments to the Consular Lieutenants, that they might not seek Occasions of a War.* He decreed an Ovation to *A. Plautius*, and met him as he enter'd the City, and march'd by his Side as he went to the *Capitol*, and as he came back; and he allow'd *Gabinius Secundus*, who conquer'd the *Chauci*, a Nation in *Germany*, to assume the Cognomen of *Chaucius*.

24. The

* *Call'd so, because their Salary was* 200 *greater Sesterces.*

|| Libertinus.

24. The Promotion of Knights to Military Poſts he ſtarted in this Method: After the Command of a Cohort, he gave that of a Wing; and after that, the Tribuneſhip of a Legion. He appointed Stipends for a Kind of imaginary Troops which he inſtituted, call'd *Super Numerum*, *Supernumerarii*; which conſiſted of Perſons abſent, who appear'd only by their Names. He forbad even by a Decree of the Senate, the Soldiers to enter the Senators Houſes to make their Salutations; and put to Sale ſuch Freemen, who liv'd after the Manner of *Roman* Knights; and reduc'd into Servitude again, ſuch as were * ungrateful and of whom their Patrons complain'd; refuſing to give Sentence againſt them who had enfranchis'd them, when their Advocates apply'd for it. Some having ſent their Slaves, when they were ſick to the Iſland of † *Eſculapius*, not caring to be at the Trouble of providing them with a Cure, he pronounc'd the Slaves to be free, and that they ſhou'd not return to their Maſters Service if they recover'd; and if any one choſe to deſtroy them rather than ſend them thither, he declar'd him guilty of Murder. He oblig'd Travellers not to paſs thro' the Towns of *Italy*, unleſs on × Foot, or in a Chair, or in a Litter; and plac'd ſeveral Cohorts at *Putuli* and *Oſtia*, to be at hand in Caſe of Fires. He forbad Foreigners to take *Roman* Names, except they were alſo proper to their own Country. Such as illegally aſſum'd the Liberty of the City, he beheaded in the *Campus Eſquilinus*. The Provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which

* *A Freedman was term'd* Ingratus, *when he refus'd to acknowledge or reſpect his Patron or Maſter who had given him his Freedom, or to do a Service to him or to his Children. There were Laws among the* Romans *againſt this Crime.*

† *Now the Iſland of St.* Bartholomew.

× *To prevent their hurting the Roads by heavy Carriages, and by Horſes.*

which *Tiberius* had taken under his own Care, he gave back to the Senate. He depriv'd the *Lycians* of their Freedom, for their irreconciliable Discords among themselves; and restor'd theirs to the *Rhodians*, upon their repenting of their former Crimes. The *Ilians*, as Founders of the *Roman* Nation, he exempted from Tribute for ever; reciting an old *Greek* Letter from the Senate and People of *Rome*, in which they assur'd King *Seleucus* of their Friendship and Alliance, if he wou'd release the *Ilians*, their Kindred, from all Burdens and Imposts. He expell'd the * *Jews* from *Rome*, who were continually making Insurrections at the Instigation of †*CHRESTUS*. He permitted the *German* Ambassadors to sit in the *Orchestra*, being mov'd to it by the Frankness and Resolution which they express'd, when being plac'd in the Theatre among the common People, and observing the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Envoys sate among the Senators, they remov'd to the *Orchestra* of their own accord, declaring they were not at all inferior to the others, either in Valour or Dignity. The Religion of the *Druids* among the *Gauls*, which was extravagantly ‖ barbarous, and which *Augustus* had only forbidden to the *Roman* Citizens, he entirely abolish'd. On the contrary, he endeavour'd to translate the *Eleusinian* Rites from *Attica* to *Rome*; and caus'd the Temple of *Venus Erycina* in *Sicily*, which was fallen to Ruine by Time, to be repair'd out of the *Roman* Treasury. He made Leagues with foreign Kings in the *Forum*, slaying a Sow and using the antient Form of Declaration by the *Fecials*. But these and other Things, and

* *The* Romans *commonly confounded the* Jews *and the Christians together. It is likely the* Jews *were at that Time making a restless Opposition to the Christians, which might be an Occasion of some publick Disturbances.*

† *So the Heathens have styl'd our Blessed Saviour, either thro' Ignorance or Contempt.*

‖ *They us'd humane Sacrifices.*

and almoſt his whole Adminiſtration, proceeded not ſo much from himſelf, as from the Directions of his Wives and his Freedmen; for he was generally ſuch in his Conduct, as it was their Intereſt or Pleaſure he ſhou'd be.

25. He was twice contracted in his Youth: to *Æmilia Lepida*, the Great Grand-Daughter of *Auguſtus*, and to *Livia Medullina*, who had alſo the Cognomen of *Camilla*, from the antient Line of *Camillus* the Dictator. He divorc'd the former while ſhe was a Virgin, becauſe her Parents had offended *Auguſtus*; and he loſt the other by a Fit of Sickneſs on the very Day appointed for their Nuptials. He afterwards marry'd *Plautia Urgulanilla*, whoſe Father had triumph'd; and then *Æliæ Petinæ*, the Daughter of a Conſular Man: He divorc'd them both; *Petina* for ſome light Objections, and *Urgulanilla* for the Scandal of her Debaucheries, and the Suſpicion of Murder. After theſe he marry'd *Valeria Meſſallina*, the Daughter of *Barbarus Meſſalla*, his Couſin-German: Among whoſe other infamous Lewdneſſes, having diſcover'd that ſhe was marry'd to *Silius*, he gave her back her Dowry in the Preſence of the Soothſayers, and then put her to Death; and declar'd in an Oration to the Pretorian Guards, *That ſince his Marriages had prov'd ſo unhappy, he wou'd live ſingle, and if he did not continue ſo, he wou'd freely give them Leave to ſtab him.* Yet he cou'd not refrain, but immediately treated about a Marriage, even with *Petina*, whom he had divorc'd, and with *Lollia Paulina*, who had been the Wife of † *Caius Cæſar*. But being inſnar'd by the ſubtle Trains of *Agrippina*, the Daughter of his Brother *Germanicus*, and inflam'd with Love of her by the frequent Opportunities of Kiſſing and Dalliance, which the Privilege of his near Relation furniſh'd him with, he ſuborn'd ſome Body at the next Meeting of the Senate, to propoſe that he ſhou'd be oblig'd to marry her, as if it were

† Caligula.

were a Thing for the utmoſt Advantage to the State, and that † others ſhou'd be allow'd to make ſuch Marriages, as had till that Time been accounted inceſtuous. Upon this, without loſing a Day, he celebrated the Nuptials; but none appear'd to follow the Example, except a certain Freedman and a *Primipilaris*, at the Ceremony of whoſe Marriage he was preſent himſelf with *Agrippina*.

26. He had Children by three Wives; *Druſus* and *Claudia* by *Urgulanilla*, *Antonia* by *Petina*, and by *Meſſalina Octavia*, and his Son whom he firſt nam'd *Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus*. He loſt *Druſus* while a Minor at *Pompeii*; for toſſing up a Pear in Play, and catching it in his Mouth, it fell in upon his Throat and choak'd him: A few Days before which, he was contracted to *Sejanus*'s Daughter; and therefore I wonder any ſhou'd report that he dy'd by the Treachery of *Sejanus*. A Fancy taking him that *Claudia* was begotten by his Freedman *Boter*, tho' ſhe was born five Months before *Urgulanilla* was divorc'd, and he had begun to breed her up, he commanded her to be nurs'd out naked, and expos'd at her Mother's Door. *Antonia* he gave to *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, two Noble Youths; and *Octavia* to *Nero* his Son-in-Law, tho' ſhe was contracted to *Silanus*. *Britannicus*, who was born the twentieth Day of his Reign, and in his ſecond Conſulate, while he was yet a little Child, he us'd to hold in his Arms when he harangu'd the Soldiers, and to dandle him in his Lap before the People at the Shews, or have him ſtanding at his Knees; and was always praiſing him, and expreſſing good Wiſhes for him amid the Acclamations of the Multitude. Of his Sons-in-Law, he adopted *Nero*; and not only rejected *Pompey* and *Silanus*, but alſo put them to Death.

27. Of

† *To give the better Countenance to his own Practice, by that of others.*

27. Of his Freemen he chiefly affected *Polybius* an Eunuch, whom he alſo preſented with a *Haſta pura, among the Military Men in his *Britannick* Triumph. Nor had he leſs Affection for †*Felix*, whom he made Commander of a Cohort and of a Wing, and Governor of a Province of *Judea*, and who was the Husband of three Queens. *Harpocras* was alſo much in his Favour; for he allow'd him the Privilege of being carry'd thro' the City in a Litter, and of exhibiting Publick Shews. But *Polybius*, who inſtructed him in his Studies, was more in Grace with him yet; for He often ſhew'd himſelf in Publick walking between the two Conſuls. But above all, *Narciſſus* his Secretary, and *Pallas* the Comptroller of his Houſhold; whom he ſuffer'd not only to have very great Rewards decreed them by the Senate, but alſo the Ornaments of the Queſtorſhip and Præture, and even to commit Rapine and Extorſions; ſo that when he was complaining once of the Lowneſs of his Treaſury, it was ſaid, not abſurdly, *He wou'd be rich enough, if his two Freemen wou'd take him in for a Share.*

28. Being devoted to theſe Favourites, as I ſaid, and to his Wives, he behav'd himſelf not as a Prince, but as a Servant. For their Profit, and even for their Fancy and Luſt, he diſpens'd Honours, the Command of Armies, Impunities and Puniſhments; and at the ſame Time was perfectly ignorant of what he did. Not to mention all minute Inſtances of this particularly; as the recalling his Bounties, reverſing his Judgments, the Commiſſions which were either forg'd or openly alter'd; he put to Death *Appius Silanus*, to whoſe Son *Octavia* had been contracted; the two *Julia's*, one the Daughter of *Druſus*, and the other of *Germanicus*, for an uncertain Crime, and not allowing

* *A Spear without a Steel Head. It was one of the Military Rewards among the* Romans.

† *The ſame before whom St.* Paul *was brought,* Acts 23.

lowing them any Defence; as also Cn. *Pompey*, his eldest Daughter's Husband, and *L. Silanus*, who was contracted to his younger. Of these *Pompey* was stabb'd in the Embraces of a beloved Catamite, and *Silanus* was forc'd to lay down the Prætorship before the 4th of the Kalends of *January*, and was murder'd at the Beginning of the Year, on the very Day of the Nuptials of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*. He gave Sentence against five and thirty Senators, and above three hundred *Roman* Knights, so readily, that a Centurion who brought him Word of the Execution of a Consular Man, saying, *What he had order'd was done*; he deny'd he had given any Orders, *But however*, he said, *he approv'd the Thing*, only because his Freedmen assur'd him, the Soldiers had done their Duty in running out to * revenge their Emperor of their own accord. But it is almost beyond Belief, that at the Marriage which *Messallina* celebrated with *Silius* her Adulterer, he himself shou'd sign an Instrument for her Dowry; yet he was induc'd to do it, from an Imagination that the whole Affair was only a Device to avert from himself, and transfer upon another, the Danger with which some Portents had threaten'd him.

29. He wanted not a Majesty and Dignity in his Person, either when he stood or sate, but especially when he slept; For he was tall, and yet not slender, and his Complexion was clear, his Hair fair, and his Neck strong-set and large: But his Knees were weak, and fail'd him as he walk'd; and he had several ungraceful Circumstances of Behaviour, both when he was merry or serious. He had an unhandsome Laugh, and made a very loathsome Spectacle when he was in a Passion; for then he drivell'd at the Mouth, and his Nose always ran. He had a Stammer-

* *As if the Senators and Knights whom the Soldiers had put to Death, were ingag'd in a Design to kill the Emperor.*

Stammering alſo in his Speech, and a continual Shaking of his Head, if he engag'd in the leaſt Action.

30. As his State of Health before he came to be Emperor was bad, ſo afterwards it was very ſound, and he was ſeldom ill; except with a Pain in his Stomach, being taken with a Fit of which, he began to think of putting an End to his Life.

31. He gave large and frequent Entertainments, and generally in very ſpacious Places, ſo that he had ſix Hundred at Table at once. As he was feaſting once juſt by the Drain of the *Fucine* Lake, he had like to have been drown'd by the Water's breaking in impetuouſly on a ſudden. At every Banquet he had his Children preſent, with Boys and Girls of Quality, who, after the antient manner, were ſerv'd at the lower End. Suſpecting that one of the Gueſts had ſtolen a Golden Cup the Day before, he invited him to come again the next Day, and caus'd him to be ſerv'd in an Earthen Mug. 'Tis ſaid, he was thinking alſo to make an Order, *That every one might have the Liberty of Belching and breaking Wind at Table*, becauſe he was inform'd a certain Gueſt had curb'd himſelf ſo long out of Modeſty, that it endanger'd his Life.

32. He eat and drank very greedily at any Hour and in any Place. As he was hearing Cauſes once in *Auguſtus*'s *Forum*, he was ſtruck with the Smell of the Banquet which was preparing for the * *Salii* in the Temple of *Mars* juſt by, and leaving the Bench, went thither directly and took his Place among them. He ſeldom roſe from Table, but full-gorg'd and running over; and laying himſelf down at Length, and dozing with his Mouth open, they thruſt a Feather into his Throat, to make him diſcharge his Stomach. His Sleeps were very ſhort; for he generally wak'd before Midnight, and therefore he wou'd ſometimes fall aſleep in the Day as he ſate in Court, ſo that the

* *An Order of Prieſts belonging to* Mars.

Advocates cou'd scarcely rouze him, tho' they rais'd their Voices on purpose. He was libidinous towards Women, but never concern'd himself with Males. He gam'd at the Dye extremely, and even publish'd a Book upon the Art; and us'd to play as he rode along, his Chariot being contriv'd with proper Conveniences for the Game.

33. It appear'd by several Things, as well great as small, that he was of a cruel and bloody Temper. He caus'd Persons to be examin'd by Torture, and ‖ Parricides to be punish'd before his Face. Having a great Mind when he was at *Tibur* to see an Example of the Punishment after the † antient Manner, some Criminals were mark'd out for it, and the Executioner not being at hand, he sent for one from the City, and waited to see it till the Evening. At any Combat of Gladiators, whether exhibited by himself or another, he always caus'd the Champions who were vanquish'd, to be strangled, especially the *Retiarii*, that he might view their Countenances as they expir'd. A certain Pair killing each other on the Spot, he commanded some small Knives to be immediately made for his own Use of their Weapons. He was so wonderfully delighted with the * *Dimachæri* and the Meridian Combatants, that he resorted to those

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‖ *They were sew'd up in a Sack, and thrown into the Sea.*

† *To be stripp'd naked and put into a Pillory, and so be whipp'd to Death.*

* *Two Sorts of Gladiators fought successively on the Theatre in one Day. The first were call'd* Dimachæri; *these fought in the Morning, and were furnish'd with Arms: But the others, who were term'd the* Meridian Combatants, *because they fought at Noon, were naked and defenceless, and if they escap'd then, were reserv'd to be destroy'd another Day. See* Seneca, *Epist.* 7. *These were the last Gladiators that appear'd for that Day. To this inhuman Custom the Text* 1 Cor. 4. 9. *alludes.*

thoſe Shews at Break of Day, and when the People went away to Dinner, ſate there all the Time; and beſide the appointed Champions, he wou'd upon any trifling and ſudden Occaſion, force on ſome of the Workmen and their Servants, if any Part of the Machinery in the Theatre happen'd not to anſwer. He alſo turn'd on one of his Nomenclators, as he was in his Gown.

34. His prevailing Paſſions were Fear and Diffidence. At the Beginning of his Reign, tho' as we ſaid, he affected to ſeem free and eaſy in his Behaviour, yet he wou'd not venture to be at an Entertainment, unleſs he had a Guard of Lances ſtanding round him, and was waited on by Soldiers inſtead of the Servants; nor did he viſit any ſick Perſon, unleſs the Chamber was firſt ſearch'd, and the Bedding and Cloaths; and ever afterwards he had Officers to ſearch thoſe who came to make their Salutations to him, in the ſtricteſt Manner, without Diſtinction. And it was after a long Time and with great Difficulty that he was prevail'd on to excuſe Women, and noble Boys and Girls from being roughly handled by them, and not to take their Styles from any Attendent or Scribe that approach'd him. When the Civil Commotions were on foot, † *Camillus* not queſtioning but he ſhou'd ſcare him even more than the War it ſelf, ſent him a thundring Letter full of Contumely and Threats, commanding him to abandon the Empire, and betake himſelf to the Obſcurity of a private Life: Upon which he call'd a Council of his chief Men to conſider whether he ſhou'd not obey it.

35. He was ſo terrify'd at ſome Conſpiracies, which upon very ſlight Grounds were reported to be form'd againſt him, that he was going to lay down the Empire. A certain Man being taken with Arms, near his Perſon as he was ſacrificing, he im-

† *See Page* 318.

mediately summon'd the Senate together by the Criers, and with Tears and mighty Exclamations lamented his Condition, that he was always in Danger; and for a long Time after he forbore to appear in Publick. He withdrew his passionate Affection to *Messalina* not so much from a Resentment of the Indignities and Abuses she offer'd him, as from a Fear that she design'd to make her Adulterer *Silius*, Emperor; at which Time he fled in a shameful Manner to the Camp, still enquiring all the Way as he fled, *Whether the Empire were his still or not?*

36. There was no Suspicion so trifling, tho' it proceeded from ever so inconsiderable a Hand, but it immediately, upon the smallest Intimation, put him in an Alarm, and push'd him on to any extravagant Revenge. One who had a Suit before him, taking him aside as he was making his Salutation, assur'd him he had seen him stabb'd by a certain Person in his Sleep; and presently, as if he had discover'd the Murderer, he pointed to his Antagonist, who was coming up to offer him a Petition: Upon which he was hal'd away at once to Execution, as if he had been convicted. * *Appius Silanus* is said to have perish'd in the same Manner: For *Messalina* and *Narcissus* having agreed to destroy him, the Thing was thus concerted; *Narcissus* rush'd into *Claudius*'s Chamber before Day, like a Man out of his Wits, and said he dream'd *Appius* assaulted him; and *Messalina* pretending to be astonish'd, reply'd she had dream'd the same herself a Night or two before. Just at this Crisis, Word was brought that *Appius*, who had a Message purposely sent him the preceeding Day, to attend at such an Hour, was entring the Room, which put the Truth of the Vision out of all Doubt, and he was immediately order'd to be seiz'd and put to Death. And the next Day he gave a punctual Account of the Affair to the Senate, and return'd

* See Page 351

return'd Thanks to his || Freedman, that even in his Sleep he was waking for his Safety.

37. Being conſcious to himſelf of his own X Paſſion and Reſentment, he excus'd it in an Edict, and promis'd that *his Paſſion ſhou'd be ſhort and harmleſs, and his Reſentment never without juſt Occaſion.* The Inhabitants of *Oſtia* not ſending out Barges to meet him as he went upon the *Tiber*, he reprimanded them ſeverely, and reproach'd them, *that they us'd him like a private Man*, and on a ſudden he forgave them, without any Satisfaction. Some Perſons addreſſing themſelves to him at an improper Time in Publick, he put them back with his Hand. One of the Scribes belonging to the Queſtor, and a Senator who had held the Pretorſhip, he baniſh'd without giving them a Hearing, tho' they were Innocent; becauſe the firſt had treated him rudely while he was a Private Man; and the other, becauſe when he was Ædile he had fin'd his Tenants for ſelling Meats prohibited by the Law, and had ſcourg'd a Steward who interpos'd in their Behalf. For the ſame Reaſon he alſo depriv'd the Ædiles of their Power of reſtraining the Victualing-Houſes. Nor did he forbear to take Notice of his own Folly; for he declar'd in ſome ſilly Orations which he publiſh'd, that he diſſembled it under *Caius*, becauſe he had no other Way to ſecure himſelf, and arrive at the Empire. But this found very little Credit; for in a ſhort Time a Book came out, entitled * *Μωρων ἀναστασις*; the Subject of which was, that *no Fool ever diſſembled Folly.*

|| Narciſſus.

X Ira & Iracundia, *which are thus diſtinguiſh'd by* Seneca: *The firſt is a tranſient Fit of Anger, the other a ſettled Habit of Ill-Nature and Spleen.*

* The Reſurrection of Fools. *This Book being plainly a Satire upon* Claudius, *was deſign'd to prove his Folly was real and not diſſembled, as he affected to give out.*

38. Among other Things which were surprising in him, were his Forgetfulness and Inconsideration, or as the *Greeks* call it, his μετοφια καὶ ἀλογιστία. Not long after he had put *Messalina* to Death, when he was at Table, he enquir'd *Why the Empress did not come in*; and several Persons whom he had executed, he us'd to invite to dine and play at Dice with him the next Day, and to send a Messenger to rally them for Sluggards, because they did not immediately appear. Going to declare *Agrippina* his Wife contrary to Law, he always styl'd her in his Orations, * *His Daughter and Sister-Child, born and educated in his Bosom*: And when he was to adopt *Nero* into his Family, as if it were no Shame for him to adopt a Son-in-Law when his own Son was now of Age, he repeatedly declar'd, † *That no one had ever been implanted into the* Claudian *Family by Adoption.*

39. He often shew'd also such a perfect Negligence of his Words and Actions, that he seem'd neither to know, nor consider to whom, in what Company, or at what Time, or in what Place he was speaking. When a Cause concerning the Butchers and Wine-Sellers was depending, he cry'd out in the Court, *Who, I beseech you, can live without a relishing Bit and a Glass?* and presently nam'd a Multitude of Taverns, where he himself us'd formerly to have his Wine. A certain Person standing for the Questorship, he gave this as one Reason of his voting in his Favour, That *his Father had help'd him to a Draught of cold Water, when he very much wanted it in a Fit of Illness.* And bringing a Woman into the Senate for an Evidence, *This Woman*, says he, *was Freed-Woman and* Robe-

* *Which shew'd his Stupidity, that at the same time as he was going to make her his Wife, he publickly styl'd her by those Relations which made it incestuous for him to have her.*

† *As the Thing had not been done before, there was no Occasion for it now, since he had a Son living.*

Role-Keeper to my Mother, but ſhe always look'd upon me as her Maſter. I mention this, becauſe there are at this Time ſome in my own Family, who don't think me to be their Maſter. The People of *Oſtia* ſuing to him for ſome Publick Favour as he ſate on the Bench, he flew into a Paſſion, crying out, *He had no manner of Reaſon to oblige them*; and that *if any Man were at Liberty to do as he pleas'd, himſelf was certainly the Perſon.* And it was a daily Saying of his, perpetually in his Mouth on all Occaſions, *What d'ye take me to be a* * Telegennius, *and a mere Babbler?* There were ſeveral other Things alſo, which were ridiculous even in a private Man, and much more in a Prince, who wanted neither Eloquence nor Learning, and who employ'd a World of Labour in the Liberal Arts.

40. In his Youth, at the Inſtigation of *T. Livy*, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Sulpicius Flavus*, he undertook to write a Hiſtory. At the firſt Rehearſal of it in a numerous Audience, he cou'd ſcarcely go thro' with it, for the frequent Interruptions of which he himſelf was the Occaſion. For ſome Benches breaking down by the Weight of a certain corpulent Perſon, at the Beginning of the Recital, there aroſe a loud Laugh; and when the Tumult was over, he cou'd not forbear, by reviving the Remembrance of the Accident, to ſet them a laughing again. He wrote ſeveral Things alſo when he was Emperor, and always had them rehears'd, for which Service he made Uſe of a † Reader. He began his Hiſtory from the Death of *Cæſar* the Dictator, and then making an abrupt Tranſition to later Times, began it afreſh from the Concluſion of the Civil Wars; becauſe he found he cou'd not be allow'd to ſpeak of the former Times with Freedom or Truth, for his Mother and Grand-Mother us'd often to reprimand and check him. Of

* *Some notorious Blockhead.*

† *The general Cuſtom was for an Author to rehearſe his Works himſelf.*

the first Part he left two Volumes, and one and forty of the other. He also compos'd eight Volumes concerning his own Life, which were rather impertinently written than inelegantly; and drew up a learned Defence of *Cicero* against † *Asinius Gallus*. He invented three Letters, and added them to the rest of the Alphabet as highly necessary; and having publish'd a Treatise concerning the Reason of them when he was a private Man, he easily obtain'd to have them us'd promiscuously after he was a Prince: And they are to be found in several Books and diurnal Registries.

41. Nor did he prosecute the *Grecian* Studies with less Care, upon every Occasion expressing his Affection for the Language and praising it. A certain Barbarian making a Discourse in *Greek* and *Latin*, *Since you are skill'd*, says he, speaking to him again, *in both our Tongues*, &c. And in recommending *Athais* to the Senators, *That Province*, he told them, *was endear'd to him by the mutual Intercourse of Studies*. And he often answer'd Ambassadors in the Senate for a long Time together in *Greek*, and wou'd repeat a Multitude of Verses out of *Homer* from the Bench. As often as he reveng'd himself upon an Enemy, or * one taken in Ambush, when the || Officer came to him according to Custom for the Signal, he seldom gave any other than

Ἀνδρὶ ἐπιμανίαδες, ὅτε τις σφῶϊν κακὰ εἰδῇ.

Revenge is just when you are first provok'd.

He

† *He wrote a Comparison of his Father* Pollio *the Orator, with* Cicero, *in which he prefer'd his Father.*

* Insidiator. *The Word may signifie, either an Assassine lying in wait to set upon the Emperor, or an Enemy lying in Ambuscade.*

|| Excubitor Tribunus, *The Tribune who commanded the Watch in the Camp, or the Centinels plac'd about the Emperor's Palace.*

He alſo wrote in *Greek* the Hiſtory of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty Volumes, and another of the *Carthaginians* in eight; for which he added a new * *Muſeum* to the old one at *Alexandria* in his own Name; and ordain'd that in the one his Hiſtory of the *Tyrrhenians*, and in the other that of the *Carthaginians* ſhou'd be intirely rehears'd by turns upon ſtated Days, as before an Auditory.

42. Toward the Cloſe of his Life, he gave ſeveral and not obſcure Signs of his repenting his Marriage with *Agrippina*, and his Adoption of *Nero*. For ſome of his Freed-Men ſpeaking of the Judgment he gave the Day before upon a Woman guilty of Adultery, and commending it, he anſwer'd warmly, That *it had been but Deſtiny to fall into unchaſte Marriages, but not to let them go unreveng'd.* And meeting *Britannicus* he embrac'd him cloſely, and bid him *grow apace, and he wou'd lay before him an* † *Account of his Actions*; adding in *Greek*, Ὁ ἔρως σ' ἐπαίδευσε, *Thus* †† *Love inſtrain'd me.* And he deſign'd to give him the Gown of Manhood in his tender Years, becauſe his Stature was full grown, *That at length*, he ſaid, *the People of* Rome *may have a true* Cæſar.

43. Not long after, he wrote his Teſtament, and had it ſign'd by all the Magiſtrates. But before he cou'd take ſome other Steps which he intended, he was prevented by *Agrippina*, whom her own Conſcience condemn'd, and beſide theſe Circumſtances, repeated Informations accus'd of a Multitude of Crimes. It appears that he was deſtroy'd by Poyſon; but when, or by whom it was adminiſter'd, is uncertain. Some ſay, *Halotus* the Eunuch, his Taſter, gave it him as he was feaſting in the Temple with the Prieſts; and others, that it was given him at his own Table by *Agrippina*,

* *A College endow'd for a Number of Learned Men.*

† *In order to vindicate himſelf, and make it appear, the ſeveral Inſtances of Male-Adminiſtration were owing to ſome about him.*

†† To Agrippina.

who knowing him to be an extravagant Lover of Muſhroomes, offer'd him one which was poyſon'd. The Manner of it's Operation is alſo variouſly reported. Some ſay, he was taken ſpeechleſs as ſoon as he had ſwallow'd it, and having lain in Agonies all Night, expir'd at Morning: Others, that he fell into a Doxing at firſt, and his Meat riſing in his Stomach, he threw all up, and that then they repeated the Medicine; but 'tis doubtful whether in a Broth, as if to ſtrengthen him after his Vomiting, or in a Clyſter, under a Notion of eaſing his Stomach, which was overcharg'd.

44. His Death was conceal'd till all Things were regulated concerning his Succeſſor. Therefore Vows were made for him as if he ſtill lay ill, and Comedians were brought into the Palace under a Pretence of his asking for them to divert him. He dy'd on the *third of the Ides of *October*, *Appius Marcellus* and *Sextius Apuleius* being Conſuls, in the ſixty-fourth Year of his Age and the fourteenth of his Reign. His Funerals were perform'd with the Princely Solemnities, and he was conſecrated among the Gods. This Honour was afterwards revers'd and aboliſh'd by *Nero*, and again renew'd by *Veſpaſian*.

45. The chief Preſages of his Death were, the Appearance of a blazing Star call'd a Comet; the ſtriking of the Monument of his Father *Druſus* by Lightning; and that in the ſame Year ſeveral dy'd out of every Order of the Magiſtrates. And he himſelf ſeem'd by many Things, neither to be ignorant that his End was approaching, nor to diſſemble it. For when he appointed the Conſuls, he appointed neither of them for longer than the Month in which he dy'd. And the laſt time he was in the Senate, he earneſtly exhorted his Sons to Concord, and recommended them very tenderly to the Houſe. And the laſt time he ſate in Judgment, he declar'd again and again, tho' all who heard it abhorr'd the † Omen, *He was arriv'd at the End of Mortality.*

THE

* Octob. 13th. † i. e. *Wiſh'd it might not take place.*

P. 347.

THE LIFE OF *Nero Claudius Cæsar.*

FROM the *Domitian* House arose two celebrated Families, the Line of the *Calvini* and of the *Ænobarbi*. The Founder of the last, and from whom it also receiv'd its Cognomen, was *L. Domitius*; to whom, as he was returning from the Country, two * Youths of a very noble Aspect are said to have appear'd and commanded him to acquaint the Senate and People with the Victory, which was not as yet certainly known; and as a Proof of their Dignity, they strok'd his Face, and chang'd the Hair of it from a dark to a ruddy Colour, like that of Copper. This Mark continu'd in his Posterity, many of whom had yellow Beards. They enjoy'd seven Consulates, two Triumphs, and two Censorships; and being enroll'd among the *Patricians*, had all of them the same Cognomen in Common: Nor did they take any other Pra-

* Castor *and* Pollux.

Prænomina beſides thoſe of *Cnæus* and *Lucius*, which they aſſum'd with great Variety, retaining each ſometimes thro' three Generations, and ſometimes changing them alternately: For the firſt, the ſecond and the third of the *Ænobarbi* we find were *Lucii*, and the three next *Cnæii*, and the others were call'd *Lucii* and *Cnæii* by turns. It will be proper, I believe, to give a brief Hiſtory of ſome of the Family, that it may the more eaſily appear *Nero* ſo degenerated from the Virtues of his Anceſtors, that all the Vices of each one ſeem'd to be united in him.

2. To take my Riſe pretty early. His Great-Grandfather's Grandfather, *Cn. Domitius*, when he was Tribune, being enrag'd at the Prieſts for chuſing another and not himſelf in his Father's Room, caus'd the Right of * Electing to be tranſferr'd from the Colleges of the Prieſts to the People. And in his Conſulſhip, having conquer'd the *Allobroges* and the *Averni*, he was carry'd thro' the Province on an Elephant, a Throng of Soldiers following him as at the Solemnity of a Triumph. It was of this Man that *Licinius Craſſus* the Orator ſaid, *It is no Wonder that he who had an † Iron Mouth and a Leaden Heart, ſhou'd have a Beard of Braſs.* His Son being || Prætor, ſummon'd *C. Cæſar*, at the Expiration of his Conſulſhip, which he was thought to have ſuſtain'd contrary to the Auſpices and the Laws, to an Examination before the Senate. When he was made Conſul, he attempted to recall *Cæſar* from his Command of the Armies in *Gaul*; and being nominated by the other

† Faction

* *Upon the Death of any in the Colleges or Societies of the Prieſts, of which there were ſeveral among the Romans, they us'd to chuſe another in his Stead from the People, or as we now ſpeak, the Laity.*

† *The Meaning of this Sarcaſm is, that he was very impudent and dull.*

|| *See Page* 20.

† Faction for his Succeſſor, he was taken at *Corfinium* at the Beginning of the Civil War. Being diſcharg'd, he went to *Marſeilles*, which was cloſe-preſs'd in a Siege, and animated them by his Preſence; and preſently after, deſerting to the other ſide again, he was kill'd in the Battel of *Pharſalia*. He was an inconſtant Man and of a cruel Temper. In the deſperate Condition of his Affairs he ſo dreaded the Death he had endeavour'd to procure, that having drank Poyſon, he immediately repented and threw it up, and made his Phyſician free, becauſe he had prepar'd it with ſuch Prudence and Skill as to do him little Harm. And when *Pompey* was deliberating concerning thoſe who ſtood entirely Neuter, he alone declar'd they ought to be deem'd as Enemies.

3. He left a Son who was certainly to be prefer'd to all the Family. Being condemn'd by the † *Pedian* Law, tho' he was innocent, among the Accomplices of *Cæſar*'s Murder, he went over to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who were his near Relations; and after both their Deaths held the Command of the Fleet intruſted to him a long Time and increas'd the Number of the Ships: Nor did he reſign it till his Party was ruin'd in all Parts, and then he ſurrender'd it to *M. Anthony*, which was eſteem'd as a Piece of extraordinary Merit. Of all thoſe who were condemn'd by the ſame Law, he alone was reſtor'd to his Country and ran thro' the higheſt Honours. And when the Civil Diſſentions were reviv'd, being Lieutenant to *Anthony*, and by reaſon of a ſudden Indiſpoſition, neither daring to accept, nor boldly refuſe the Sovereign Command which was offer'd him by thoſe who

† Pompey's *Party, who were Enemies to* Cæſar.

† *Made by* Q. Pedius, *the Conſul. He was Heir with* Auguſtus *in* Julius Cæſar's *Will.* *See* p. 52.

who were * asham'd of *Cleopatra*, he went over to *Augustus*, and dy'd in a few Days, not without some Aspersions cast upon his Reputation. For *Anthony* gave out, that he deserted him out of Love to his Mistress *Servilia Nais*.

4. This was the Father of *Domitius*, who was afterwards commonly known to be the † Purchaser of the Inheritance in *Augustus*'s Testament. He was no less fam'd in his Youth for the Art of driving a Chariot, than afterwards for the Triumphal Ornaments which he obtain'd in the *German* War. But being arrogant, profuse, and savage, when he was only Ædile he oblig'd the × Censor, *L. Plancus*, to give him the Way; and when he was Prætor and Consul, he brought *Roman* Knights and Matrons upon the Stage to play the * *Mimes*; and gave Huntings of Wild Beasts, both in the || *Circus* and in all the Quarters of the City. He also exhibited a Gladiatory Combat; but with so much Cruelty, that *Augustus* having to no purpose reprov'd him privately, found it necessary to restrain him by an Edict.

5. By

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* *The* Roman *Troops which were with* Anthony *in* Ægypt, *were so provok'd at his effeminate and dishonourable Manner of living with* Cleopatra, *that they wou'd have left him, if they cou'd have found a proper Person to make their General.*

† *It was a Form with the* Romans, *in disposing of an Estate by Will, for some Person to make an imaginary Purchase of the Estate before Witnesses; by which the Testator seem'd to transfer the Right of it from himself to those whom he appointed his Heirs, as upon a valuable Consideration. The Purchaser, 'tis likely, was understood to represent the Heirs.*

× *The Censor was a superior Officer to the Ædile.*

* *This was such a Diminution of their Honour, that they lost their Quality by it.* See p. 23.

|| *This was an Instance of his Prodigality, as his Cruelty appears by the next.*

5. By *Antonia* the Elder, he had *Nero*'s Father, who was deteſtable in every Part of his Life. For accompanying *C. Cæſar*, who was then a Youth, into the Eaſt, he murder'd his Freedman, becauſe he refus'd to drink as much as he commanded him; and being for this turn'd out of the Converſation of his Friends, he ſtill liv'd as wild as before. For in a Village upon the *Appian* Way, he wittingly drove his Chariot over a Boy and kill'd him; and at *Rome*, he daſh'd out the Eye of a *Roman* Knight, who reprimanded him ſomething freely, in the middle of the *Forum*. He was ſo perfidious alſo, that he not only defrauded the Brokers of the Prices of Things which he bought of them, but in his Pretorſhip he even cheated the Charioteers of the Reward of the Palms. But his Siſter rallying him about it, upon the Complaints of the Maſters of the Factions, he ordain'd, that for the future the Prizes ſhou'd be deliver'd upon the Spot. Being convicted of Treaſon and Adulteries, and of Inceſt with his Siſter *Lepida*, at the End of *Tiberius*'s Reign, he eſcap'd by the Change of the Times, and dy'd of a Dropſy at * *Pyrgi*, leaving behind him his Son *Nero*, by *Agrippina* the Daughter of *Germanicus*.

6. *Nero* was born at *Antium* nine Months after *Tiberius*'s Death, on the † eighteenth of the Kalends of *January*, ſo exactly at the Riſing of the Sun, that the Beams of it in a manner fell upon Him, before they touch'd the Earth. A Variety of Conjectures were immediately made about his Nativity, and terrible Things foretold; and a Saying of his Father *Domitius* was alſo very ominous, who amid the Congratulations of his Friends, affirm'd, *It was impoſſible any thing cou'd be born of him and* Agrippina, *but what was abominable and a Publick Evil.* There happen'd alſo an evident Token of his Future Calamities upon his

‡ Luſtra-

* *A Town of* Italy, *now* St. Maria di Purgano.
† December *the* 14*th.*

† Lustration-Day. For *Cæsar* being desir'd by his Sister to give the Child what Name he pleas'd, look'd full upon his Uncle *Claudius*, by whom *Nero* was afterwards adopted, and said he gave him his Name. He design'd no more in it himself than a Jest; but *Agrippina* was extremely provok'd at it: for *Claudius* was then the common Ridicule of the Court. He lost his Father when he was three Years old, who left him Heir only of a third Part: Nor did he receive that intirely; for the Goods were seiz'd by his Coheir *Caius*, and his Mother shortly after banish'd; and being in a manner indigent and naked, he was brought up with his Aunt *Lepida* under two Pedagogues, a Dancing-Master and a Barber. But when *Claudius* came to be Emperor, he not only recover'd his Paternal Inheritance, but had his Fortune augmented also by the Estate of his Father-in-Law *Crispus Passienus*. His Mother being recall'd from Exile, he bore such a Sway by her Favour and Interest, that it was reported *Messalina* sent some to strangle him when he was taking a Nap at Noon, as the Rival of her Son *Britannicus*. The Story went also, that the Ruffians ran away, being frighten'd by a Dragon which issu'd out from beneath his Head. The Fable arose from a Serpent's Slough being found near his Pillow. At the Request of his Mother, he wore this for some Time upon his Right Arm in a Golden Bracelet, and at last threw it aside in Aversion to her Memory; and when he was in his Extremities, vainly sought to recover it.

7. While he was scarcely past the Age of a Boy, he constantly perform'd the *Trojan* Exercise, and with great Applause. In his eleventh Year he was adopted by *Claudius*, and was deliver'd for his Education to *Annæus Seneca*, who was then a Senator. They

† *Upon this Day, which was the ninth from the Birth with Boys, and the eighth with Girls, they nam'd the Child, and perform'd certain Religious Ceremonies for its future Welfare.*

They ſay, *Seneca* dream'd the next Night, that he was Preceptor to * *C. Caſar*; and *Nero* in a ſhort Time fulfill'd the † Dream, diſcovering the Barbarity of his Temper upon all poſſible Occaſions. For he endeavour'd to perſuade his Father that his Brother *Britannicus* was ſpurious, becauſe after his Adoption *Britannicus* had ſaluted him by the Name of †† *Ænobarbus* as he us'd to do. He alſo ruin'd his Aunt *Lepida*, by the Evidence he gave againſt her in open Court, in order to gratify his || Mother, who deſtroy'd her after ſhe was condemn'd. When he was introduc'd into the *Forum*, he gave a Congiary to the People and a Donative to the Soldiers; and ordering the Pretorian Cohorts to make a Publick March, he bore the ⁂ Target before them, and led them himſelf, and then went and paid his ⁂ Acknowledgments to his Father in the Senate: And when his Father was Conſul, he pleaded before him in *Latin* for the People of *Bunnia*, and for the *Rhodians* and *Ilians* in *Greek*. He began his Office of X Prefect of the City in the *Latin* Holidays. The moſt celebrated Pleaders brought before him Cauſes not trifling, as the Cuſtom was, and ſhort, but important

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* Caligula.

† *Which ſignify'd that* Nero, *to whom* Seneca *was Tutor, wou'd prove ſuch another Monſter as* Caligula *had been.*

†† *This being the Name* Nero *went by before his Adoption, he was affronted at* Britannicus's *giving him it now, becauſe it look'd like denying the Adoption.*

|| Agrippina *hated* Lepida, *becauſe ſhe was of a nobler Family. Perhaps ſhe got her condemn'd now for her Inceſt with her Brother,* Nero's *Father. Pag.* 351.

⁂ *The uſual Enſign of the Officer who headed the Proceſſion.*

⁂ *For the Honour he had done him in letting him lead the Proceſſion.*

X *See the Note,* p. 310.

portant and very perplex'd, tho' this was expressly forbidden by *Claudius*. Not long after he marry'd *Octavia*; and ordain'd *Circenſian* Games and a Hunting of Wild Beaſts, for *Claudius*'s Health.

8. He was now ſeventeen Years old, and as ſoon as *Claudius*'s Death was made known, he went forth to the Guards between the * ſixth and ſeventh Hour, not daring to do it ſooner, becauſe of the unlucky Omens which appear'd all the reſt of the Day. Being ſaluted Emperor before the Steps of the Palace, and carry'd to the Camp in a Litter, he harangu'd the Soldiers in a Hurry, and came back to the Senate, and ſtaid there till the Evening. Of the innumerable Honours which were heap'd upon him, he only refus'd the Style of *PATER PATRIÆ*, *Father of his Country*, by reaſon of his Youth.

9. He began with an Oſtention of his Filial Affection, celebrating *Claudius*'s Funerals with great Solemnity, praiſing him in an Oration, and conſecrating him among the Gods. He paid the higheſt Honours to the Memory of his Father *Domitius*, and permitted his Mother to have the chief Adminiſtration of all Affairs Publick and Private. Thus on the firſt Day of his Reign, the Word he gave to the Tribune of the Guard was, *Optima Mater*, *The beſt Mother*; and he was afterwards frequently carry'd thro' the Streets with her in her Litter. He ſent forth a Colony to *Antium*, making a Draught for that Service out of Veterane Soldiers, and cauſing even the moſt wealthy of the *Primipilares* to remove thither, where he alſo form'd a very noble Harbour.

10. And to give yet a more certain Demonſtration of his Intentions, he declar'd, that *He deſign'd to govern according to the Model laid down by* Auguſtus: Nor did he omit any Occaſion which was offer'd for exerciſing his Liberality, or Clemency, or Courteſy. He either aboliſh'd the heavier Taxes, or leſſen'd and reduc'd

* *Between* 12 *and* 1 *at Noon.*

reduc'd the Rewards which were appointed for the Delators by the *Papian* Law, to a * fourth Part. He distributed four hundred Seſterces a Man to the People; and on every one of the nobleſt of the Senators, who was in neceſſitous Circumſtances, he ſettled an annual Salary, and upon ſome † five hundred Seſterces a Year; and to the Pretorian Cohorts he gave a Quantity of Corn every Month *gratis*. When the Warrant for executing any Criminal was brought to him to ſubſcribe it, according to Cuſtom, *How do I wiſh*, wou'd he ſay, *that I cou'd neither read nor write!* He wou'd ſalute all the Orders by Name without a Prompter. The Senate returning him Thanks once, he anſwer'd, *Pray do this, when I ſhall have deſerv'd it.* He admitted even the Common People to his Field-Exerciſes, and often declaim'd in Publick. He recited Poems not only at Home, but alſo in the Theatre, with ſuch univerſal Applauſe, that a †† Supplication was decreed for the Rehearſal, and Part of the Poem was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in Letters of Gold.

11. He exhibited many and various Kinds of Shews; as the *Juvenile*, *Circenſian* and Theatrical Games, and the Gladiatory Combats. He admitted antient Conſular Men, and old Matrons, to perform in the *Juvenile* Sports; and allotted a Seat for the Knights at the ✕ *Circenſian* Games ſeparate from the reſt

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* *By the* Papian *Law a Delator (or Informer) had a fourth Part of the Eſtate of any one whom he accus'd.* Nero *now reduc'd this to one Quarter of that Share, which was a ſixteenth Part of the Whole.*

† *The greater Seſterce, 500 of which make* 12500 *Crowns.*

†† *A Day of rejoicing, and ſolemn Thankſgiving to the Gods.*

✕ *Tho' the Knights had a particular Apartment appointed for them in the Theatre by the* Roſcian *Law, yet in the* Circus *they ſate promiſcuouſly, till* Nero *made this Regulation.*

reſt of the Company; and had Race-Chariots drawn by four Camels apiece. In the Games, which becauſe they were undertaken for the perpetual Duration of the Empire, he caus'd to be nam'd *Maximi*, *The Principal Games*; the ludicrous Parts were perform'd by Perſons of both † Orders and Sexes. A celebrated *Roman* mounted an Elephant in the Theatre, and rode him along upon a Rope. And a Play of *Afranius*'s, written after the *Roman* Manner, call'd the *Incendium*, *The Burning*, was introduc'd on the Stage; in which the Actors were allow'd to carry away the Goods of the X House which was on fire, and keep them. Largeſſes of all ſorts of Things were thrown among the People every Day, a Thouſand of each ſort to a Share; as Variety of Birds of every Kind, Tickets for Doles of Corn, Garments, Gold, Silver, Gemms, Pearls, Pictures, Slaves, Cattel, and Wild Beaſts bred to hand, laſtly Ships, Houſes and Lands.

12. He beheld theſe Games from a Seat rais'd juſt in the Front of the Stage: And at the Gladiatory Combat he preſented in the Wooden Theatre, which he erected in the Region of the *Campus Martius* within the Compaſs of a Year, he ſuffer'd no Champion to be kill'd, not even of thoſe who were condemn'd to that Life as Criminals by the Law. He alſo engag'd forty Senators and ſixty *Roman* Knights to skirmiſh in Publick; and ſome of both Orders, who had great Eſtates and were of an unblemiſh'd Reputation, to encounter the Wild Beaſts, and perform ſeveral other Services on the Stage. He had a Sea-Fight repreſented upon Salt Water, with the Sea-

† *Of the Senators and Knights.*

X *One of the Scenes was a Houſe on fire, with the Players all in Confuſion, endeavouring to ſave the Goods. The Furniture which was thus brought out, Nero gave them leave to keep. By the Title of the Play, this ſeems to be the principal Scene.*

The Pyrrich Dance. Mr. Cooke Sc.

P. 357.

Sea-Monſters ſwimming about in it. He caus'd a Number of Stripplings to dance the *Pyrric* Dance, and afterwards gave them Patents for the Freedom of the City. At the Time of the Dance, the Story of *Paſiphae* was ſo naturally repreſented, that moſt of the Spectators thought it real; and an *Icarus* at his firſt ſpringing to his Flight falling down juſt at his Seat, the Blood ſparkled upon him; For he ſeldom took the Preſident's Place at the Shews, but generally beheld them lying on a Couch, and looking thro' the Curtains drawn pretty cloſe, tho' ſometimes they were thrown quite open. He firſt of all inſtituted Quinquennial Games at *Rome*, conſiſting, after the *Grecian* Manner, of three Kinds, Muſick, Wreſtling and Horſe-racing, and call'd them *Neroniæ*, *Neronian Games*: And at the opening of a * Bath and a *Gymnaſium*, he ſupply'd the Senate and the Knights with Oyl at his own Expence. He appointed Conſular Magiſtrates by Lot to preſide at theſe † Games, who were to ſit in the Prætor's Seat. Going afterwards into the *Orcheſtra* among the Senators, and the Crown for the Prize in *Latin* Proſe and Verſe, for which the moſt honourable Perſons contended, being adjudg'd to him by the Conſent of the Diſputants themſelves, he accepted it; and the Muſical Crown being awarded him as Victor by the Judges, he worſhipp'd it, and order'd it to be carry'd to *Auguſtus*'s Statue. At the Gymnaſtic Exerciſes, which he exhibited in the *Septa*, as the Preparations for the ſolemn Sacrifice were making, he ſhav'd his Beard the firſt Time, and incloſing it in a Golden Box ſet with very rich Diamonds, dedicated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He invited even the Veſtal

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* Thermæ, *A hot Bath.* The Gymnaſium *was a Place for robuſt Exerciſes, as Wreſtling, Coiting, &c.* In *both Places they us'd Oyl.*

† The Neronian.

Vestal Virgins to see the * Wrestlers, because at Olympia the Priestesses of Ceres were permitted to behold them.

13. Among the Shews which he made, the Entry of *Tiridates* may not be improperly mention'd. He was King of *Armenia*, and *Nero* having invited him to *Rome* with extraordinary Promises, the Day he had appointed for his Publick Entry happen'd to be wet, upon which he delay'd it to the next which shou'd prove favourable. At the Time, Cohorts arm'd were plac'd round the Temples in the *Forum*, and himself was seated in a Curule Chair at the *Rostra*, cloath'd in a Triumphant Habit, amidst the Military Ensigns and Banners. *Tiridates* approaching him with Reverence, he first receiv'd him kneeling, and raising him up kiss'd him, and took off his † *Tiara* as he was making his Compliments to him, and put a Diadem on his Head; a Prætorian Man ✕ interpreting what the King said, and repeating it aloud to the People. From thence conducting him into the Theatre, and having again receiv'd his Addresses, he plac'd him by his Side on his right Hand. Being for this saluted ‖ *Emperor*, he carry'd his ⁂ Laurel to the Capitol,

* *They perform'd naked, and therefore it was thought immodest for Women to be present. Augustus expressly forbad it*, p. 98.

† *The* Tiara *was the common Habit of the Head with the* Persians *and other Eastern Nations, as the Turbant is now.* Nero *took it off, and put on a Regal Diadem in the stead of it, to shew he restor'd* Tiridates *to his Kingdom.*

✕ *As the whole Design of this Entry of* Tiridates *was to please* Nero's *Vanity, and magnify him in the Eyes of the People, it was necessary the Speech, which contain'd an humble Submission of himself and his Dominions to* Nero, *shou'd be explain'd to them.*

‖ Imperator *was not only the standing Title of the Emperors of* Rome, *but was also a Style of Military Ho-*

nour,

pitol, and shut the Temple of *Janus*, there being not so much as the Relicks of a War then remaining.

14. He bore four Consulships. The first two Months, the second and the last six, and the third four. The second and third he assum'd successively, the other two at the Distance of some Years.

15. When he sate in Judgment, he seldom return'd an Answer to the Advocates before the next Day, and then in Writing. In hearing Causes, he made it his Custom to finish them with all Expedition, dispatching them indifferently in their Turn. As often as he withdrew to consider upon any Case, he never communicated it to the Judges, or deliberated with them; but their Opinion being deliver'd him in Writing, he read it over in private, and then pronounc'd according to his own Thoughts, just as if they had agreed in the same Decision. He wou'd not for a long time admit the Sons of Freemen into the Senate, and deny'd to confer Honours on those who had been admitted by former Princes. To make them easy under the Delay of Advancement, he promoted the * supernumerary Candidates to some Command in the Legions. He generally gave the Consulship for six Months. And one of the Consuls dying about the Kalends of *January*, he did not substitute another in his stead, disliking the Instance of † *Caninius Rebilus* formerly, who was Consul for one Day. He bestow'd the Triumphal Ornaments on Persons of the Questorian Dignity, and even upon some of the Equestrian Order, tho' they had perform'd no Military Service to merit them. The Accounts

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nour, given to them or to the General upon some extraordinary Conquest: Accordingly it is bestow'd here upon Nero *for his Victory over* Tiridates.

‡ *In token of Triumph.*

* *The Candidates who stood for any Office, and lost their Election.*

† *See Page 45.*

Accounts which he ſent the Senate of certain Affairs, he commonly caus'd the Conſul to read to the Houſe, paſſing by the Queſtor, to whoſe Office it belong'd.

16. He projected a new Form for the Buildings in the City; and contriv'd that before the † *Inſulæ* and the Houſes there ſhou'd be Porticoes, from the Battlements of which they might be able to work in Caſe of a Fire; and theſe he built at his own Expence. He deſign'd alſo to extend the Walls of the City as far as *Oſtia*, and to let in the Sea from thence into the old City by a Trench. In his Reign, ſeveral Things were corrected, and others reſtrain'd with extraordinary Strictneſs; and ſeveral new Inſtitutions were made: Limits were ſet to Expences; Publick Suppers were reduc'd to a * *Sportula*; and Victualing-Houſes were prohibited ſelling any thing boil'd beſide Pulſe and Pot-herbs, whereas before they ſold all Kinds of Eatables. The *Chriſtians* were puniſh'd ſeverely, a Sort of Men who follow'd a new and malignant Superſtition. The Rogueries of the Charioteers were alſo forbidden, with whom it was an old Cuſtom to ſtroll about every where, and cheat and thieve at Diſcretion, juſt as if they were only in Jeſt; and the Pantomimes and their Factions were baniſh'd.

17. Againſt the †† *Falſarii* this Device was then invented, that no Deeds ſhou'd be ſeal'd till they were

† *A Space of Ground between Houſe and Houſe; for Houſes in* Rome *were not contiguous. This Spot of void Ground the* Romans *call'd* Inſula, *an Iſland.*

* *A ſmall Wicker Basket, in which a Quantity of Victuals was put and preſented to any; and from the Name of the Basket, the giving ſuch a kind of a Treat was call'd a* Sportula. *It was more ſparing and temperate than the Publick Suppers, which were very luxurious, and therefore* Nero *ſubſtituted this in their Room.*

†† *Thoſe who forg'd or counterfeited Writings.*

were punch'd thrô', and a String paſs'd thrice thrô' the Hole to receive the Seal. And as to Teſtaments, it was provided, that the firſt two Leaves ſhou'd be left blank till the Witneſſes had * ſubſcrib'd their Names; and that no one who wrote a Teſtament for another, ſhou'd inſert a Legacy in it for himſelf. It was appointed alſo, that Clients ſhou'd pay certain reaſonable Fees to their Advocates, and that the † Seats in the Court ſhou'd coſt them nothing, but the Expence of them ſhou'd be allow'd out of the Treaſury: That Cauſes ſhou'd be remov'd from the Treaſury into the *Forum* before the || *Recoverers*; and that all Appeals from the Judges ſhou'd be brought into the Senate.

18. Having no Intention nor Deſire to inlarge or extend the Empire, he began to think of withdrawing the Armies from *Britain*; forbearing it only out of Shame, leſt it ſhou'd look as if he had a mind to detract from his Father's Glory. But he reduc'd into the Form of a Province the Kingdom of *Pontus*, which was yielded to him by *Polemon*, and that of the *Alps* upon the Death of ✕ *Cottius*.

* *At the Head of thoſe void Leaves the Teſtator wrote his Name, to acknowledge that the following Teſtament was his Will; but the Particulars were not expreſs'd till after the Witneſſes had ſubſcrib'd, that they might not know who was made Heir, or what Legacies were given.* Nero *appointed this Method perhaps, from an Opinion that the Witneſſes being thus kept entirely ignorant of the Contents of the Will, cou'd have nothing to direct them if they ſhou'd undertake to forge one, nor be induc'd by Averſion or Favour to any one nam'd in it, to diſown their Signing upon any Diſpute.*

† Lat. Subſellia. Caſaubon *thinks they were Scaffoldings erected on purpoſe for trying ſome particular Cauſes.*

|| *Before whom any one whoſe Eſtate was confiſcated, ſu'd to recover it.*

✕ *See Page* 204.

19. He undertook only two Progresses, one to *Alexandria* and one to *Achaia*; but he put off that to *Alexandria* upon the very Day he was to have set forward, being disturb'd by some Religious Omens, and affrighten'd at the Danger of it. For sitting down in the Fane of *Vesta* after he had visited the Temples round, as he went to rise up, the Skirts of his Garments stuck fast to the Seat, and a Dimness came across him, which took away his Sight. When he was in *Achaia*, he undertook to cut thro' the *Isthmus*, and made a Speech to the Pretorian Soldiers to encourage them in the Work; and the Trumpet giving the Signal to begin, he first broke Ground himself with a Pick-Ax, and filling a Basket with Earth, carry'd it away upon his Shoulders. He prepar'd an Expedition to the *Caspian* Streights, raising a new Legion of *Italian* Youths six Foot high, which he call'd the *Phalanx* of *Alexander* the *Great*. These Actions, some of which are not bad, and some deserve to be very much commended; I have thus related at once, to separate them from the infamous and vile Parts of his Life, of which I shall now speak.

20. Among other Sorts of Learning, (being instructed in Musick in his Youth) as soon as he obtain'd the Empire, he sent for *Terpnus* the Harper, who was the most celebrated of his Time, and sate by him for several Days together after Supper till late at Night, to hear him play, and by degrees began to study and practise after him. Nor did he omit any of the Methods which were us'd by Artists of that Sort for preserving or improving the Voice: He lay along with a Plate of Lead upon his Breast, and purg'd by Clisters and Vomiting, and abstain'd from Apples and Meats which were prejudicial to his Singing; till flattering himself at length that he had made a wonderful Proficiency (tho' his Voice was shrill and hoarse) he was ambitious of appearing upon the Stage, boasting among his familiar Friends, according to the *Grecian* Proverb, *That conceal'd Harmony*

mony was never valu'd. He made his Publick Appearance firſt at *Naples*; and tho' the Theatre was ſhaken with a ſudden Earthquake, yet he did not give over Singing, till he had finiſh'd the Tune he began. He alſo ſung there very often and for ſeveral Days together, only making a ſhort Pauſe ſometimes to recover his Voice; and he was ſo impatient of being off the Stage, that he wou'd go directly from the Bath to the Theatre. As he was eating once in the midſt of the *Orcheſtra*, with the People all flocking about him, he call'd out and told them in *Greek*, * *That a merry Gloſs wou'd enable him to troll it off the better.* Being extremely taken with the Songs ſome *Alexandrians*, who were newly arriv'd at *Naples*, ſung in his Praiſe, he ſent to *Alexandria* for more of the Natives. And choſe ſome young Men of the Equeſtrian Order, and above five thouſand ſturdy Youths out of the Common People, who were divided into Factions, to learn the ſeveral Kinds of Applauſe, call'd the † *Bombi*, ‡ *Imbrices*, and †† *Teſtæ*, and whoſe Buſineſs was continually to attend him when he ſung. The Lads had very large Heads of Hair, and were richly dreſs'd, and wore Rings on the left Hand; and the Principals of them were allow'd || four hundred thouſand Seſterces.

21. Eſteeming it one of the nobleſt Things in the World to ſing, he reviv'd the *Neronian* Games before the appointed Day; and the People all crying out to hear *his heavenly Voice*, he anſwer'd, *He wou'd gratify them, if they were deſirous of it, in the Gardens*: But the Guards, who were then upon Duty, ſeconding

* *He imagin'd they were afraid his Drinking would injure his Voice, and therefore told them this to quiet them.*

† *A Sound like the Humming of Bees.*

‡ *A Noiſe reſembling the Fall of Rain.*

†† *A Sound like the Ringing of earthen Pots ſtruck againſt one another.*

|| 1750 *Livres.*

the Importunities of the People, he graciously promis'd them to sing without Delay, and immediately order'd his Name to be writ down among the profess'd Musicians; and putting his * Lot with them into the common Urn, he enter'd in his turn, the Prefects of the Pretorian Cohorts carrying his Harp, and accompany'd by the Military Tribunes and his intimate Friends. As soon as he had taken his Stand upon the Stage, and the Prelude was over, he proclaim'd by *Cluvius Rufus* a Consular Man, that he wou'd sing the Story of *Niobe*, and held it out till the † tenth Hour. The Honour of receiving the Crown, and the rest of the Shew he put off to the next Year, that he might thereby have frequent Occasions to sing; but thinking this too long, he cou'd not forbear appearing in Publick several times before. Nor did he scruple to bear a Part among the Players in †† Private Games, and to accept the Present of a -+ Million of Sesterces from one of the Pretors for his Art. He also sung Tragedies in a Mask; the Vizors of the Heroes and Gods, and of the Heroines and Goddesses, being fram'd to resemble his own Features and those of any Women for whom he had an Affection. Among other Things, he sung *Canace in Labour*, Orestes *killing his Mother*, Oedipus *with his Eyes out*, and Hercules *run mad*. As he was playing the last, 'tis said, a young Soldier who was plac'd to keep the Entrance of the Stage, seeing him dress'd up and bound with Chains as the Argument of the Play requir'd, ran hastily in to his Rescue.

22. He was a passionate Admirer of Horses even from his Childhood; and was continually talking of the *Circensian* Games, tho' he was forbidden to do it. Lamenting

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* *To avoid Contention about Preference, they drew Lots for the Order of going upon the Stage.*

† *Four in the Afternoon.*

†† *Games not exhibited by the Emperor.*

-+ 43750 *Livres.*

MAPPA M

APPA MISSA.

p. 365

Lamenting once among his Companions the Misfortune of a Driver of the Green Faction, who was dragg'd by his Horſes, and his Preceptor chiding him for it, he pretended he was ſpeaking of * *Hector*. At the Beginning of his Reign he had a Chariot and a Sett of Horſes made in Ivory, which he us'd to play with upon a Table: But upon the ſmalleſt Racing in the *Circus*, he ran thither from any Receſs where he happen'd to be; at firſt privately, and afterwards without Reſerve; that at laſt every one expected him, and made no Queſtion of his coming. Nor did he diſſemble that he deſign'd to encreaſe the Number of the Prizes; and thus the Courſes being multiply'd, the Games laſted till it was late; and the Maſters of the Factions wou'd not vouchſafe to bring out their Horſes, unleſs they were ſure to run them the whole Day. Afterwards he often took a Fancy to drive and make Part of the Shew himſelf; and having practis'd in his Gardens among the Slaves and the loweſt of the People, he made his Appearance in the great *Circus* in the Publick View of all Men, a certain Freedman || giving the Signal from the Place where the Magiſtrates us'd to ſit. Not being content with ſhewing Proofs of his Skill in theſe Arts at *Rome*, he went, as we obſerv'd, to *Achaia*, which he did chiefly from this Motive: The Cities, where Muſical Games us'd to be celebrated, having reſolv'd to ſend all the Muſick-Prizes to him, he took it ſo extremely kind, that he not only immediately admitted the Meſſengers who brought them into his Preſence, but treated them alſo at his familiar Banquets; and ſome of them begging he wou'd pleaſe to favour them with with a Song at Supper, and making him

* Achilles *ty'd* Hector *to his Chariot, after he had kill'd him, and dragg'd him round the Walls of* Troy.

|| Mittente Mappam. *The Signal was, a Handkerchief thrown out at Length by the Preſident of the Shews. See the Plate.*

a World of Compliments, he said, *the* Greeks *alone were Judges of Musick, and were worthy of him and his Art*; and immediately beginning his intended * Journey, as soon as he came to † *Cassiope*, he gave them a Specimen of his Harmony at the Altar of *Jupiter Cassius*.

23. After this, he perform'd in all the Exercises: For those which belong'd to different Seasons, he commanded to be brought into the Compass of one Year, and some of them to be repeated, and had a Musick-Prize at *Olympia*, contrary to Custom. And that nothing might give him a Diversion, or detain him while he was thus employ'd, whenever his Freedman *Helius* acquainted him that his Presence was necessary to the Affairs of the City, he wrote him back Word, *Tho' it is thy Advice and Desire that I wou'd quickly return; yet thou oughtest rather to advise and wish that I may return worthy of* Nero. While he was singing, it was not lawful for any one to go out of the Theatre upon any necessary Occasion; insomuch that 'tis said several Women fell in Travail and were deliver'd at the Shews, and many being quite tir'd with giving their Attendance there to hear and clap him, either leap'd privately over the Wall, the Gates of the Town being kept shut, or pretending to be dead, were carry'd out as to their Funeral. It is scarcely credible what Fear and Anxiety, what Emulation of his Competitors, and Awe of the Judges he expres'd while he was performing. He paid the highest Deference to his Antagonists, as if they had been equal in Quality to himself; made his Court to them openly, but rail'd at them in secret, and sometimes curs'd them when he met them; and even brib'd them, if they were excellent in their Art, to play booty and let him carry the Prize. Before he began, he address'd himself to the Judges with

* To Achaia.

† *A Town of* Corcyra, *now St.* Maria di Cassiope.

with the profoundeſt Reverence, ſaying, *he had done every Thing that belong'd to him to do, yet after all the Event was in the Hands of Fortune; but that as wiſe and learned Men they ought in pronouncing Judgment to exclude all Things that were fortuitous*: And upon their encouraging him to take Heart and not fear, he withdrew more eaſy in his Spirit; yet even then if any of them were ſilent, or ſpoke faintly, he was in a Concern, and conſtru'd it as a Sign of Sourneſs and Ill-will, and own'd that he ſuſpected them.

24. At the Time of performing he obſerv'd the Laws of the Theatre ſo ſtrictly, that he never dar'd to ſpit or to wipe off the Sweat from his Forehead but with his Arm. As he was playing once in a Tragedy, he let his Staff fall out of his Hand; and tho' he recover'd it immediately, he was in ſuch a wonderful Conſternation and Terror, leſt he ſhou'd be hiſs'd off the Stage, that he cou'd not compoſe himſelf till one of the Players ſwore, it was not taken Notice of amid the Noiſe and Shoutings of the People. He us'd alſo to proclaim himſelf Victor himſelf, and even ſtrove to outdo the Crier in his Art. And that no Memory nor Footſteps of any other Victors in the X Sacred Games might be left, he commanded all their Statues and Images to be thrown down, and dragg'd with the Hook, and caſt into the Jakes. He drove the Chariot at the Races in † various Manners, and once at the *Olympic* Games with ten Pairs of Horſes; tho' in a * Poem of his

X *The four Games of* Greece: *The* Olympic, *the* Pythian, *the* Iſthmian, *and the* Nemean.

† *With more or fewer Horſes than were uſual*, &c.

* *This excellent Piece is unhappily periſh'd; but by ſome Verſes of* Nero's, *which* Perſius *has inſerted in his firſt Satire as a Specimen of Bumbaſt and Nonſence, it appears he was juſt as good a Poet as he was a Singer:*

Claudere

writing, he had blam'd *Mithridates* for the ſame Thing: But being thrown out of the Chariot, and then replac'd, and yet not †† able to hold on, he gave off before he had finiſh'd the Courſe. Notwithſtanding which, he was crown'd. At his Departure, he gave the whole Province their Liberty, and made the Judges free of *Rome*, and preſented them with a great Summ of Money: All which Favours he proclaim'd himſelf in the Middle of the *Stadium* upon the Day of the *Iſthmian* Games.

25. At

Claudere ſic Verſum didicit, Berecynthius Attin
Et qui cœruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin,
Sic eoſtam longo ſubdiximus Apennino.

'Tis tagg'd with Rhyme, like Berecynthian Attys,
The mid Part chimes with Art, which never ſtat it.
The Dolphin brave, that cut the liquid Wave,
Or He who in his Line can chime the long-ribb'd Apennine. *Mr.* Dryden.

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura ſuperbo
Baſſaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis
Evion ingeminat, reparabilis adſonat Echo.

Their crooked Horns the Mimallonian *Crew*
With Blaſts inſpir'd; and Baſſaris, *who ſlew*
The ſcorniful Calf, with Sword advanc'd on high,
Made from his Neck his haughty Head to fly.
And Mænas, *when with Ivy-Bridles bound,*
She led the ſpotted Lynx, then Evion *rung around;*
Evion *from Woods and Floods repairing* Echo's *Sound.* *Mr.* Dryden.

†† *Becauſe he cou'd not govern ſuch a Number of Horſes; and the Form of the Race-Chariot made it difficult for the Driver, whoſe Poſture was ſtanding, to avoid being thrown out, if the Horſes were unruly.*

25. At his Return to *Naples* from *Greece*, he made his Entry drawn by white Horſes, becauſe in that † City he had given the firſt Specimen of his Art, Part of the Wall being thrown down, according to the * Cuſtom of the Sacred Games. He enter'd *Antium*, and *Alba* and *Rome* in the ſame Manner. But his Entry into *Rome* he made in the ſame Chariot in which *Auguſtus* had triumph'd, dreſs'd with a Purple Veſt, and a Cymar embroider'd with Stars of Gold, wearing the *Olympic* Crown on his Head, and carrying the *Pythian* in his Right Hand, the others being borne before him in Pomp, with Inſcriptions expreſſing *What Perſons, at what Places, and in what Songs or what Plays he had conquer'd*; a Multitude following him with Applauſes and ſhouting out that *they were* Auguſtians, *and the Soldiers of his Triumph*; and making a Breach in the circular End of the great *Circus*; he paſs'd thro' the *Velabrum* and *Forum* to the Palace and the Temple of *Apollo*: Victims were ſlain every where as he paſs'd along, and Saffron was ſcatter'd upon him, and Birds, and Garlands and Sweetmeats. He plac'd the Sacred Crowns in his Chamber round about his Beds, with Statues of himſelf in the Habit of a Harper, and ſtamp'd the ſame upon his Coin. Even after this, he was ſo far from remitting his Muſical Exerciſes, that for the ſake of preſerving his Voice, he never ſpoke a Speech himſelf to the Soldiers, but always had it pronounc'd by another; nor did he tranſact any Thing ſeriouſly or in Jeſt, but with a Maſter of Pronunciation at his Elbow, who was to put him in Mind to ſpare his Lungs, and even thruſt a Handkerchief into his Mouth to ſtop him if he did not regard. And to a great many he offer'd his Friendſhip, or vow'd an implacable Ha-

† Naples, *ſee* p. 363.

* *To ſignify, that a Town which had ſuch brave Men for its Inhabitants, needed no other Fortifications to ſecure it.*

tred to them, according as they had been liberal or ſparing in their Commendations of him.

26. His Petulance, his Luſt, his Luxury, Avarice and Cruelty he exercis'd moderately at firſt, and in private, as if they had only been the Sallies of Youth: Yet that any one might be ſatisfy'd even then that they were the Vices of his Nature and not of his Age; as ſoon as it was duſkiſh, he clap'd on a Cap or a Helmet, and ſcour'd away to the Publick Houſes, and rambled about the Streets, playing a thouſand miſchievous Pranks; for he wou'd threſh any whom he met going home from Supper, and wound them if they reſiſted, and tumbled them into the Jakes. He wou'd break up the ſmall Shops and plunder them, opening a Sale-Room in his own Houſe, where he divided and ſold his Booty. In theſe Skirmiſhes he often ran the Hazard of having his Eyes beat out, and of loſing his Life: For a certain Senator, whoſe Wife he wou'd have forc'd from him, maul'd him almoſt to Death. After this he never ventur'd abroad at ſuch Hours without the Tribunes following ſecretly at a diſtance. In the Day being convey'd to the Theatre privately in a common Chair, he wou'd get into a Gallery behind the Scenes, and ſet the *Pantomimes* together by the Ears, while he ſate and look'd on: And when they came to Blows, and were pelting one another with Stones and Pieces of the Seats, he wou'd alſo let fly among the People; and once he broke the Prætor's Head.

27. At length increaſing in his Enormities, he laid by his Frolicks and Miſchief in Sport; and throwing off all Diſguiſe, broke out openly into the vileſt Extravagances, without the leaſt Concern to have them conceal'd. He continu'd his Feaſts from Mid-day to Mid-night; often bathing in Ponds of warm Water, and in the Summer-time the Water was cool'd with Snow. Sometimes he ſupp'd in Publick, in the Place where the Sea-Fights were repreſented, in the *Campus Martius*, or the greateſt *Circus*, attended

attended with all the Strumpets of the whole City, and a Croud of foreign * Proſtitutes with their Muſick. As often as he ſail'd down the *Tiber* to *Oſtia*, or coaſted the *Baian* Bay, there was a Number of Booths erected along the Banks, before which ſtood the Whores and imitated Hoſteſſes, calling out to him, and asking him to land. It was a Practice with him alſo to invite himſelf to Supper with his familiar Friends; one of whom it coſt † forty hundred thouſand Seſterces in Sweet-Meats, and another more in Perfum'd Water.

28. Beſides his Debauching of Boys who were Freemens Sons, and his corrupting marry'd Women, he violated the Veſtal Virgin *Rubria*; and was juſt on the Point of marrying *Acte*, an enfranchis'd Slave, having ſuborn'd ſome Conſular Men to ſwear ſhe was deſcended of a Royal Line. He caſtrated *Sporus*, a Boy, and endeavour'd to transform him wholly into a Woman, taking him to Wife with the Rites of the Dowry and the Vail, and all the Solemnities of a formal Wedding: Upon which ſome body made a very

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* Ambubaiæ: *According to* Caſaubon, *they were* Syrian *Women, who earn'd their Living at* Rome *by Proſtituting themſelves, and playing on the* Syrian *Harp.* Juvenal *ſays they came thither in Numbers, and found very great Encouragement there.*

Jam pridem Syrus in Tyberim deflùxit Orontes, *&c.* *Sat.* 3.

Nor Greeks *alone, but* Syrians *here abound;*
Obſcene Orontes *diving under Ground,*
Conveys his Wealth to Tiber's *hungry Shores,*
And fattens Italy *with foreign Whores:*
Hither their crooked Harps and Cuſtoms come;
All find Receipt in hoſpitable Rome.

Mr. Dryden.

† 100000 Crowns.

very pertinent Jeſt, *That it wou'd have been well for Mankind, if his Father* Domitius *had had ſuch a Wife.* This *Spurus* he carry'd about with him in a Litter, thro' the Aſſemblies and trading Towns of *Greece*, and afterwards thro' the *Sigillarian* Street at *Rome*, dreſs'd in the * Imperial Ornaments of the Empreſſes, kiſſing him as they rode along. That he had a ſtrong Deſire to have known his Mother, and was only deterr'd from it by ſome who had no Kindneſs for her, and who were afraid a Favour of this Kind ſhou'd render a Woman of her haughty and daring Temper too powerful, was never queſtion'd by any: For he added to his Concubines a Strumpet, who was reported to be extremely like *Agrippina*; and as he was carry'd with her in the ſame Litter, 'tis ſaid, inceſtuous Familiarities paſs'd between them, as appear'd by their Garments.

29. His own Chaſtity he ſo proſtituted, that having polluted almoſt all the Members of his Body, he at laſt invented a new ſort of Impurity. He caus'd himſelf to be inclos'd in a Hide, and being let out of a Cage like a Wild Beaſt, he ruſh'd upon the Privy Parts of Men and Women ty'd to a Stake; and having ſlak'd his enormous Deſire with this, he was, to conclude the Scene, defil'd himſelf by his Freedman *Doryphus*, who had marry'd him, as himſelf had before marry'd *Spurus*. I have been inform'd by ſeveral, that it was his fixt Opinion there was not a Perſon living who was chaſte, or uncorrupted in any Part of his Body; only moſt of them diſſembled their Vices, and were cunning enough to keep them private: And therefore if any confeſs'd Obſcenities to him, he forgave them all the other Crimes they had committed.

30. He thought there was no other Uſe of Wealth and Money, but to waſte them profuſely; eſteeming thoſe

* Auguſtarum Ornamenta. *See the Note on the Word* Auguſta, *p.* 252.

thoſe to be ſordid and niggardly who took an Account of their Expences, and ſuch as ſquander'd them extravagantly to be truly noble and generous. He prais'd his Uncle *Gaius*, and admir'd him for nothing more, than becauſe he ſpent the vaſt * Riches which *Tiberius* left him, in a very little Time. Wherefore he had no Bounds in his Prodigallity. Upon *Tiridates* he expended † eight hundred thouſand Seſterces a Day, a Summ almoſt incredible; and preſented him with × above a Million at his Departure. He gave *Menecrates* the Harper, and *Spicillus* the *Mirmillo*, the Patrimonies and Houſes of Triumphal Men; and beſtow'd a Royal Funeral almoſt upon *Cercopithecus Pamerates* the Uſurer, who had a great Eſtate in the City and the Country. He never wore the ſame Garment twice. He play'd at Dice for ‡ four hundred thouſand Seſterces a Caſt. He fiſh'd with a Golden Net, his Lines being made of Purple and Scarlet. 'Tis ſaid, he never travell'd with leſs than a thouſand Waggons in his Train, the Mules being ſhod with Silver, and the Drivers clad in the fineſt Cloth; and with a Croud of Moors and running Slaves, furniſh'd with Bracelets and Quivers.

31. He was in nothing more profuſe than in Building. He extended an Apartment from the Palace quite to the *Eſqueline* Mount, and call'd it at firſt the †† *Paſſage*; and when it was burnt down, he rebuilt it, and nam'd it the *Golden Lodging*. Concerning the Extent and Beauty of which, it will be ſufficient to ſay only this; In the Court-Yard ſtood a *Coloſſus* of a hundred and twenty Foot high, repreſenting himſelf. The Amplitude of it was ſo great, that it had Portico's with three Rows of Pillars, a Mile in Length;

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* *See Page* 283.

† 20000 *Crowns.*

× *Above* 2500000 *Crowns.*

‡ 10000 *Crowns.*

†† i. e. *From the Palace to the* Eſqueline *Mount.*

length; and a Lake, like a Sea, encompass'd with Edifices in the manner of Cities. There were Fields also, and Vineyards, and Pastures, and Woods, with a Multitude of Cattel and Wild Beasts of every Sort. The Body of the Building was over-laid with Gold, and set with Jewels and Mother of Pearl; and the Banquetting-Rooms were vaulted with a Roof of Ivory; which was contriv'd so, as to be frequently shifted, and to throw out Roses upon the Guests, and from secret Pipes to distill Unguents upon them. The chief Banquetting-Room was round, and revolv'd continually Day and Night like the Motion of the Heavens. And the Baths were supply'd with Water from the Sea and from *Albula*. Yet when he dedicated such a Building as this after it was finish'd, he said nothing more in Commendation of it, than that *Now he shou'd begin to live like a Man*. He also began a Canal from *Misenum* to the *Avernian* Lake, and arch'd it over, and turn'd into it all the hot Streams of *Baiæ*. He open'd a Sluce from *Avernus* to *Ostia*, capable of receiving Ships of Burthen, a hundred and sixty Miles long, and so broad, that Vessels of five Oars might sail abreast. For the carrying on of these Works, he order'd that the Prisoners shou'd be brought from all the Jails into *Italy*, and that any Criminals who were condemn'd, shou'd be sentenc'd to labour here. Beside his Dependence on the Riches of the Empire, what push'd him into these prodigious Expences was, a sudden Imagination of recovering some immense Treasures which were conceal'd. For a certain Knight assur'd him, that all the Riches which Queen *Dido* carry'd away with her when she fled from *Tyre*, were hid in the vast Desarts of *Africk*, and might be very easily dug up.

32. But being disappointed in his Expectations, he was so exhausted and impoverish'd, that he was oblig'd to defer paying the Soldiers, and giving the Bounty-Money to the Veterans; and therefore apply'd himself to Oppression and Rapine. In the first

Place

Place he ordain'd, that three Parts instead of an Half of every Freedman's Estate who dy'd, shou'd be levy'd for his Service, if without sufficient Reason they had borne the Name of Families related to himself: That the Testaments of such as were * ungrateful to their Prince, shou'd be wholly forfeited to him; and the Lawyers who wrote or dictated them shou'd not go unpunish'd: And that all Facts and Words against which Information was given, shou'd be deem'd within the Law of Treason. He demanded also the Rewards of all the Crowns which had ever been offer'd him by the Cities at the Publick Games. Having interdicted the Use of the *Amethyst* and of the *Tyrian* Colour, he covertly imploy'd one to sell a few Ounces of it upon the Day of the *Nundinæ*, and took Occasion from thence to shut up all the Dealers Shops and seize the Goods. 'Tis believ'd, he pointed out to his † Officers a Matron whom he spy'd at the Shews in the middle of his Singing, cloth'd with Purple after he had forbidden it; for she was presently dragg'd out, and he not only stript her of her Garments, but depriv'd her also of her Estate. He never put any Man into an Office, but he told him, *You know what 'tis I want*; and, *Let us do our Endeavour that no one may have any thing left.* In a Word, he rifled a great many Temples of their Gifts, and melted down the Images which were made of Gold and Silver, and among them the Statues of the *Penates*, which *Galba* afterwards restor'd.

33. He began his Parricides and Murders with *Claudius*; of whose Death tho' he was not the Author, yet he was privy to it. And he made no Secret of it himself: For afterwards he commonly us'd a

* *By not leaving him a sufficient Legacy.*

† Procuratoribus suis, *the Emperor's Lawyers or Attorneys, who prosecuted upon Delinquencies in his Name, and for his Service.*

a *Greek* Proverb in Praiſe of Muſhrooms, the Diſh with which *Claudius* was poyſon'd, extolling them as the Food of the * Gods. 'Tis certain, he treated his Memory with all manner of Invectives and Diſgrace, both in his Words and Actions; ſometimes accuſing him of Folly, and at other times of Cruelty. *He ceaſes*, ſays he in Ridicule, *morari inter Homines*, making the firſt Syllable of the Word † *morari* long. And ſeveral of his Decrees and Conſtitutions he repeal'd, as made by a Dotard and a Madman. In ſhort, he took no Care to have any Incloſure to his Sepulchre, beſide a low Border of ordinary Stuff. He attempted to deſtroy *Britannicus* by Poyſon, as much out of Emulation of his Voice, which was ſweeter than his own, as from a Fear leſt the Value People had for his || Father's Memory ſhou'd one Day render him too powerful with them. It was adminiſter'd by one †† *Locuſta*, who had ſav'd her Life by impeaching others who practis'd the Poyſoning Trade: But becauſe it wrought ſlower than he expected, only throwing *Britannicus* into a Looſeneſs, he ſent for the Woman, and beat her with his own Hand, telling her, ſhe had given him a Medicine inſtead of a Poyſon. And when ſhe excus'd

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* *Becauſe* Claudius, *who had eat it, was made a God.*

† Morari inter Homines deſinit, [*to ceaſe to dwell among Men*] *is a* Latin *Phraſe for* Dying; *but* μωρᾶ, *the firſt Syllable of which is long, is* Greek *for a* Fool: *And* Nero *punn'd upon this, and by leaning on the Syllable* mo, *made it ſignify*, Claudius *had ceas'd to play the* Fool *among Men.*

|| Claudius.

†† *A moſt noted Poyſoner. She had been condemn'd for her Art, and ſav'd herſelf only by accuſing and diſcovering others.* Agrippina *is ſaid to have employ'd her in preparing the Muſhroom which poyſon'd* Claudius, *and* Nero *now ſent for her from* Gaul *to practiſe her Skill upon* Britannicus.

cus'd herſelf, that ſhe had us'd a ſmaller Quantity meerly to prevent the Matter from being ſuſpected; *To be ſure*, ſays he, *I am mortally afraid of the* * Julian *Law*, and made her boil up a Doſe before him in his Chamber, which ſhou'd be as ſtrong and ſudden as poſſible. Having try'd it upon a Kid, and finding he linger'd with it five Hours, he boil'd it over again ſeveral times, and then gave ſome to a Pig, which preſently expiring, he commanded it to be carry'd into the Room, and given to *Britannicus* as he was at Supper with him. *Britannicus* dropping down as ſoon as he had drank it, he pretended to the Company it was a Fit of the Falling-Sickneſs, with which he us'd to be troubled; and hurry'd him out the next Day with an ordinary Funeral in the midſt of a great Shower of Rain. To requite *Locuſta* for her Labour, he gave her an Indemnity with a large Eſtate in Land, and even provided her with a Number of Schollars to learn her Art.

34. His Mother prying into his Words and Actions, and reproving him ſeverely; to make her odious to the People, he firſt ſhew'd himſelf uneaſy at it, as if he wou'd reſign the Empire and retire to *Rhodes*; and afterwards he depriv'd her of all her Honours and Power, and taking away her Guard of *Roman* Soldiers and *Germans*, expell'd her from his Converſation and from the Palace. Nor did he ſpare any Pains to diſturb and vex her; ſuborning ſome while ſhe continu'd at *Rome*, to harraſs her with Suits; and when ſhe withdrew and liv'd private, he caus'd others as they paſs'd that Way, either by Sea or Land, to purſue her into her † Retirement, and teaze her with Reproaches and invidious Jeſts. At length,

* *Againſt Poyſoning.* Nero *laugh'd at her impertinent Precaution, that ſhe ſhou'd imagine He, who was Emperor, valu'd any Law.*

† *She abſconded ſometimes at* Tuſculum, *and ſometimes at* Antium, *&c.*

length, being frighten'd by her Menaces and her violent Spirit, he resolv'd to cut her off: And having thrice attempted her by Poyson, and perceiv'd she had arm'd herself with Antidotes, he contriv'd to loosen the Ceiling of her Chamber, and let the Beams fall in upon her as she was fast asleep in the Night. But this Design being discover'd by some it was intrusted with, he invented a Ship, which shou'd either break in Pieces and drown her, or crush her to Death by the sudden Fall of the Cabin. Wherefore pretending to be reconcil'd, he sent her a very affectionate Letter, and invited her to *Baiæ* to celebrate * *Minerva*'s Festival. While she staid, having order'd some Mariners to drive their Vessels foul upon the Gally which brought her over, and bulge it, as if it had been an Accident; he † held the Entertainment out the longer, that they might have Opportunity to do it. When she was returning to ‖ *Bauli*, instead of her own Vessel which was thus founder'd, he offer'd her his treacherous Pinnace, waiting on her to it very chearfully, and even kissing her Breasts at parting: But the rest of the Time he pass'd in the utmost Agony, expecting the Event of his Project. When he understood all things had happen'd contrary to his Wishes, and that she had escap'd by Swimming, he was at his Wits End; and *L. Agerinus*, his Freedman, coming in at the Time, and telling him with Joy his Mother was safe and unhurt, he pretended to discover a Dagger which he himself had privately convey'd thither on purpose; and as if *Agerinus* had been sent to stab him with it, he commanded him to be seiz'd and manacled,

* *This lasted five Days.*

† *It seems by this, that* Agrippina *did not stay there the whole Festival, but return'd the same Day she came; otherwise there wou'd have been no Occasion for prolonging the Banquet to give the Men time to split the Ship.*

‖ *A Town between* Misenum *and* Baiæ.

cled, and his Mother to be ſlain, but in ſuch a manner, that ſhe ſhou'd ſeem to have laid Hands on herſelf, becauſe her Crime was detected. There are alſo Things related of him yet more atrocious than this, and by very good Authorities; as, that he ran eagerly to view her Body after ſhe was kill'd; that he handled her Limbs, diſparaging ſome and praiſing others; and being a-dry, call'd for Liquor, and drank as he ſtood ſurveying her. Yet was he not able either then or afterwards to bear the Conſcience of his Wickedneſs, tho' the Soldiers, the Senate, and the People ratify'd it by their congratulating him upon it. He often confeſs'd he was haunted by his Mother's Ghoſt, and that the Furies purſu'd him with their Whips and their flaming Brands. He alſo employ'd Magicians, to try by their Incantations to raiſe her *Manes* and appeaſe them. As he travell'd thro' *Greece*, he did not dare to be preſent at the *Eleuſinian* Rites; at the Beginning of which, Proclamation was made by the Crier, for impious and wicked Perſons to withdraw. To the Parricide of his Mother, he added the Murder of his Aunt. When he went to ſee her as ſhe lay ill of a * *Teneſmus*, ſhe ſtroak'd his downy † Beard as ſhe us'd to do, and ſaid to him with a World of Tenderneſs, *If I can but receive the firſt Pulling of this, I ſhall dye with Pleaſure*; at which he turn'd to thoſe who ſate by, and told them he wou'd cut it off immediately, making a Jeſt of what ſhe ſaid, and commanded the Phyſicians to give her a vigorous Purge. As ſoon as ſhe was dead, he ſeiz'd upon her Eſtate, and ſuppreſs'd her Teſtament, that Nothing might eſcape him.

35. He had two Wives beſide *Octavia*; *Poppæa Sabina*, whoſe Father had been Queſtor, and who was marry'd before to a *Roman* Knight; and *Statillia Meſſalina*,

* *A ſtrong Preſſure to eaſe Nature, without being able to do it.*

† *See the Note*, p. 253.

Ina, the Grand-Daughter of *Taurus*, who had been Conſul twice and had triumph'd. To obtain her, he murder'd her Husband *Atticus Veſtinus* the Conſul, in the Time of his Conſulſhip. Being ſoon weary of *Octavia*'s Embraces, and his Friends chiding him for it, *'Tis ſufficient*, ſays he, *that ſhe is allow'd to wear the Ornaments of my Wife.* Having often ſought to ſtrangle her in vain, he diſmiſs'd her for being Barren; and the People diſliking the Divorce, and not ſparing to exclaim againſt it, he baniſh'd her. At laſt he put her to Death for Adulteries, the Charge of which was ſo impudent and falſe, that all who were examin'd againſt her denying it upon the Rack, he ſuborn'd *Anicetus* his Pedagogue to accuſe her, who confeſs'd he had corrupted her by a Wile. He marry'd *Poppæa* the twelfth Day after *Octavia*'s Divorce, and lov'd her entirely: Yet even Her he kill'd with a Kick, becauſe ſhe reproach'd him for returning late from his Chariooteering, tho' ſhe was then great with Child and indiſpos'd. By her he had his Daughter *Claudia* * *Auguſta*, whom he loſt in her Infancy. There was no ſort of Kindred who did not ſuffer by his Barbarity. *Antonia*, the Daughter of *Claudius*, refuſing to marry him after *Poppæa*'s Death, he executed her for plotting againſt him. In like manner he put to Death others who were related to him in any Degree. Among them, *Aulus Plautius* a Youth; and having firſt defil'd him by Force, *Now*, ſays he, *my Mother may go and kiſs my Succeſſor*; for he gave out he was *Agrippina*'s Minion, and was prompted by her to entertain Hopes of the Empire. His Son-in-Law *Rufinus Criſpinus*, *Poppæa*'s Son, who was under Age, he commanded to be puſh'd into the Sea by his own Slaves as he was fiſhing; becauſe 'twas ſaid he us'd to play at being a General and an Emperor. He baniſh'd *Tuſcus*, his Nurſe's Son, becauſe when he was Procurator of *Egypt*,

* *See the Note*, p. 252.

Egypt, he had waſh'd in the Baths which were prepar'd for him againſt his * Arrival. He compell'd his Preceptor *Seneca* to deſtroy himſelf: Tho' oftentimes when he ask'd to be diſmiſs'd from Court, and offer'd to ſurrender his Eſtate, he ſolemnly ſwore, *He ſuſpected him without Reaſon; for he wou'd periſh ſooner than do him Harm.* Having promis'd *Burrus*, the Preſect of his Guard, a Medicine for a Swelling in his Throat, he ſent him a Poyſon. His rich old Freedmen, who had promoted his Adoption and his Advancement to the Empire, and had ſupported him in it, he took off by Poyſon, which he gave them partly in their Meat and partly in their Drink.

36. Nor did he rage with leſs Cruelty againſt Strangers and Foreigners. A blazing Star, which is generally believ'd to bode Deſtruction to Sovereign Powers, had appear'd for ſeveral Nights: Being anxious about this, as ſoon as he underſtood by *Babilus* the Aſtrologer, that it was uſual for Kings to expiate ſuch Portents by ſome extraordinary Bloodſhed, and † transfer them upon their Nobles; he form'd a Reſolution to cut off every one of principal Quality. He determin'd this the rather and with greater Appearance of Reaſon, becauſe two Conſpiracies happen'd to break out juſt at the Time: The firſt and moſt dangerous of which was that of *Piſo* at *Rome*, the other was *Vinicius*'s at *Beneventum*. The Conſpirators on their Trial pleaded in treble Chains: Some of them freely confeſs'd the Crime, and others juſtify'd it, and ſaid, there was no Way to ſerve him who was blemiſh'd with the blackeſt Villanies, but to kill him. The Children of the Offenders were expell'd the City, and either poyſon'd or ſtarv'd; and ſome of them, 'tis known, with their Pedagogues and

* *At* Alexandria.

† Claudius *had alſo us'd the ſame Expedient to avoid an* Omen, p. 336.

and the * Slaves who carry'd their Satchels after them to School, were murder'd as they were at Dinner, and others were forbidden to uſe any Means to get their daily Bread.

37. After this, he put to Death whomever he pleas'd, without Diſtinction or Reſerve, and upon any Occaſion. Not to mention many; It was objected to *Salvidienus Orfitus*, that he had let out three Apartments in his Houſe by the *Forum*, for the † Deputies of the Cities to meet in; and to *Caſſius Longinus* a Lawyer, and who had loſt his Eyes, that among the Images of his Family he kept one of *C. Caſſius* who aſſaſſinated *Ceſar*; and to *Pætus Thraſea*, that he had a ſour Countenance and look'd like a Pedagogue. Thoſe whom he commanded to diſpatch themſelves, he allow'd no longer Time for it than an Hour: And to prevent any Delay, he order'd Surgeons to attend them, *to Cure thoſe out of hand who linger'd*; for ſo he call'd cutting open the Veins to bleed them to Death. There was an *Egyptian* an enormous Eater, who us'd to devour raw Fleſh and any thing that was ſet before him; and, 'tis thought, he had a great mind to give him living Men to tear them in Pieces and eat them. Being wonderfully exalted at his ſucceeding in all this, he ſaid, *No Prince before him knew the Extent of his Power*; and often let fall plain Intimations, that he wou'd not ſpare even the reſt of the Senators,

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* *They were call'd* Capſarii, *from* Capſa, *a Satchel. This Cuſtom is alſo mention'd by* Juvenal:

Quem ſequitur cuſtos anguſtæ vernula Capſæ,
Sat. 10.

So ſmall an Elf, that when the Days are foul,
He and his Satchel muſt be borne to School.
Mr. Dryden.

† *Who reſided at* Rome *on account of ſome Affairs of their ſeveral Towns.*

tors, and that he design'd to abolish the Order out of the Republick, and commit the Government of the Provinces to the *Roman* Knights and to his Freedmen: And 'tis certain, that neither coming nor going he wou'd grace any of them with a Kiss, nor return their Salutation. And when he began his Work of cutting thro' the † *Isthmus*, he with'd aloud in the Hearing of a vast Multitude, *That it might prove fortunate for Him and for the* Roman *People*, making no Mention of the Senate.

38. Yet he neither spar'd the People nor the Walls of his Native Country. Somebody saying in Conversation,

* Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

When I am dead, let the whole World expire,
And Heav'n and Earth be all involv'd in Fire.

I, says he, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος, *while I am alive.* And indeed he made his Words good. For pretending to be displeas'd with the Deformity of the old Buildings, and the Narrowness and inconvenient Turnings of the Streets, he set the City on fire so openly, that several Consular Men caught his Officers in their Houses with Tow and lighted Torches in their Hands, and yet did not dare to seize them, but let them go. And having a strong Fancy for the Ground upon which

† *Of* Achaia, *p.* 362.

* *The Meaning of these Words is,* Let Earth and Heaven be mingled together in Ruine. *For the Word* Πῦρ, Fire, *which is one of the Elements according to the Philosophy of the Antients, signifies* Heaven *in general; but it was necessary to translate it literally, because* Nero *in his Answer plainly understands it so, alluding to his burning the City: And* Suetonius *himself takes it so, by saying,* planeq; ita fecit, he made his Words good; i. e. *he set* Rome, *the Capital of the World, on fire.*

which some Barns stood, near his *Golden Lodging*, he beat them down with battering Engines, because the Walls being of Stone would not yield to the Flames. For six Days and seven Nights this Calamity continued to rage; and the People being dislodg'd, were forc'd to shelter themselves among the Tombs and Sepulchres of the Dead. Then beside an infinite Number of common Houses, were laid in Ashes the Dwellings of celebrated Generals in former Times, nobly adorn'd with Spoils of the Enemy, and the Temples of the Gods which had been vow'd and dedicated by the Kings, and in the *Punick* and *Gallic* Wars; and whatever Relicks and Monuments of Antiquity had been hitherto preserv'd. He beheld the Burning from *Mecenas*'s Tower, being wonderfully delighted with the *Loveliness*, as he term'd it, *of the Flames*, and singing, in his Player's Habit, *the Destruction of* Troy. And that he might secure the Spoil and Booty for himself, he promis'd to remove the dead Bodies and the Rubbish at his own Expence, and so permitted none to come near to look after any Goods which were left. And he not only accepted a † Contribution, but even sollicited for it, and thereby almost exhausted the Provinces and the Estates of private Men.

39. These Mischiefs and Distresses which the Prince himself inflicted on the People, were also accompany'd with some which were accidental. As a Pestilence, of which so many dy'd in one Autumn, that thirty Thousand Funerals were enter'd in the Books of the Goddess ✕ *Libitina*; and a Defeat in *Britain*,

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* *See* p. 373.

† *Toward his own Loss, 'tis likely; for the Charge of clearing the Ruines he took upon himself.*

✕ *The Goddess of Funerals, in whose Temple all Things necessary for Funerals were sold; and an Account, it seems, was kept of every Funeral, much like our Weekly Bills of Mortality.*

Britain, in which †† two of the principal Towns were loſt, and a Multitude of Citizens and Allies put to the Sword; and a Diſgrace in the Eaſt, the Legions being ſent under the Yoke, and *Syria* it ſelf ſcarcely maintain'd. It is ſurpriſing and a very remarkable Circumſtance, that amid all this he took nothing more patiently than the Curſes and Reproaches which were thrown upon him, and treated none more gently than thoſe who laſh'd him in Satires and Libels. Several were written in *Greek* and *Latin*, and made Publick; ſuch as theſe,

Νέρων, Ὀρέστης, Ἀλκμαίων, μητροκτόνοι.
Νεοσυμφορ Νέρων, ἰδίαν μητέρ' ἀπολοφυρ.

Nero, *Oreſtes*, and *Alcmæon* ſlew
Their Mothers all, and did with Rage purſue;
But double Murder was by *Nero* done,
Who ſlew a Mother and a Miſs in one.

Quis negat Æneæ magnâ de ſtirpe Neronem?
* *Suſtulit hic Matrem, ſuſtulit ille Patrem.*

Who will deny that *Nero* draws his Line
From Great *Æneas*, and is next of Kin?
The firſt took off his aged Sire, and t'other;
The World is ſenſible, took off his Mother.

†† Colcheſter *and* London.

* *The Satire of theſe Verſes lies in the Turn upon the Word* ſuſtulit, *which in* Latin *ſignifies both to* carry away, *as a Man carries a Burden* (*and thus* Æneas ſuſtulit Patrem, took *or* carry'd away his Father *from the Ruines of* Troy) *and to* murder, (*and thus* Nero ſuſtulit Matrem, took off his Mother.)

† *Dum tendit citharam noſter, dum cornua Parthus,*
*Noſter erit * Paean, ille* || Εκηβολος.

While *Nero* does his merry Harp prepare,
And his tough Bow the *Parthian* ſtrings for War,
(To give the Praiſe their diff'ring Merits claim)
Nero may juſtly carry *Paean*'s Name,
And the bold *Parthian* the *Far-ſhooter*'s Fame.

Roma domus fiet; Veïos migrate Quirites,
Si non & Veïos occupat iſta domus.

All *Rome* is now a ſingle †† Houſe; away
To *Veii*, Citizens, your Goods convey,
At leaſt if this proud Houſe has left you Room,
And not devour'd the Town before you come.

Yet he never enquir'd after the Authors; and when the Names of ſome were given in to the Senate he forbad them to be ſeverely puniſh'd. As he was paſſing along, *Iſidorus* the Cynick revil'd him aloud in Publick, *That he ſung the ill Actions of* †† Nauplius well,

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† *There is a Turn in theſe Lines upon the Word* tendit, *which ſignifies to* ſtrain the Wires of a Harp, *and to* ſtring a Bow. *The* Parthians *were fam'd for the Art of* Shooting, *and* Nero *was fond of handling the Harp.*

* *An Epithet belonging to* Apollo, *who was ſkill'd both in the Harp and the Bow; it ſignifies* an Aſſuager, i. e. *of Pain or Sorrow, by his Harmony.*

|| Far-ſhooter, *Another of* Apollo's *Epithets, frequently given him in* Homer.

†† *Alluding to* Nero's *making his* Golden Lodging (p. 373.) take up ſuch a vaſt Compaſs of Ground.

†† *The Father of* Palamedes, *who in Revenge of his Son's being murder'd by* Ulyſſes, *made falſe Signs to the* Grecian *Fleet returning from* Troy, *and ſo caus'd them to ſplit upon the Rocks.*

well, and us'd his own good Qualities ill. And *Datus*, an Actor of *Atellanic* Farces, in a Song which began Χαῖρε πάτερ, χαῖρε μῆτερ, *Farewell Father, farewell Mother*, painted it to the Life by his Motions, sometimes imitating Drinking and sometimes Swimming, to signify the Deaths of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*; and at the Close,

Orcus vobis ducit pedes,

And *Pluto* waits for You,

he plainly pointed out the Senate by his Postures. Yet *Nero* took no farther Notice of the Player and the Philosopher than to expel them the City and out of *Italy*, either from a Contempt of Infamy, or lest he shou'd provoke the Wits against him more, if he expres's'd any Concern.

40. The World having now borne such a Prince almost fourteen Years, at length forsook him and threw him off; the *Gauls* first leading the Way, under the Command of *Julius Vindex*, who was Propretor of the Province. It had been foretold to *Nero* by the Astrologers, that a Time wou'd come when he shou'd be deserted; which occasion'd that celebrated Saying of his, Τὸ τέχνον γὰρ πᾶσι γαῖα βίῳ, *An Artist can live in any Country*: And therefore he thought himself the more justify'd in practising Musick so diligently; for it was a pleasing Diversion to him while he was Emperor, and might be the Means to subsist him if he came to be a private Man. Yet some assur'd him if he were depos'd, he shou'd still obtain the Dominion of the East; others promis'd him the Kingdom of *Judæa* by Name, and most declar'd he wou'd be entirely restor'd to his former Condition. He was the more inclin'd to expect this, because *Britain* and *Armenia* being both lost and again recover'd, he imagin'd he had already suffer'd the Misfortunes which were destin'd to befall him. Having consulted the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and being warn'd

to beware of the seventy-third Year; as if he shou'd not die till then, he never once thought of *Galba*'s Age, but was so strongly persuaded he shou'd live to old Age, and enjoy a perpetual and uncommon Felicity, that loling some Things of Value by a Shipwreck, he scrupled not to say among his Friends, *The* * *Fishes wou'd bring them to him again.* He heard of the Insurrections in both the *Gauls* upon the same † Day that he kill'd his Mother, and receiv'd the News so calmly and in so secure a manner, that he made People think he was glad he had now an Opportunity by the Right of War to plunder those wealthy Provinces. He went directly to the *Gymnasium*, and beheld the Combats as merrily as ever. Being interrupted at Supper with Advices of more Commotions, his Passion rose no higher than to throw out some Menaces against the Revolters. In a Word, for eight Days together he answer'd no Letters, nor issu'd any Instructions or Orders, but let the Matter sleep.

41. At length being rouz'd by the contumelious and frequent Edicts of *Vindex*, he exhorted the Senate in a Letter to do Justice to him and the Republick, and revenge them; excusing his not attending them in Person by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat. Nothing gall'd him so much, as that they derided him for a miserable Harper, and call'd him || *Ænobarbus* instead of *Nero*; and he even declar'd he wou'd resume his Family-Name, which was now cast upon him in Disgrace, and lay aside that of his Adoption. The other Reflection, as if there were no Shadow of Truth in it, he refuted no farther than to say, *It was*

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* *Alluding perhaps to the Story of* Polycrates *of* Samos, *who throwing a Ring into the Sea, found it in the Belly of a Fish the next Day at Dinner.*

† *Upon the same Day of the same Month in another Year.*

|| *See* p. 353.

was very abſurd to object Unskilfulneſs to Him, who had taken ſuch Pains about the Art, and brought it to ſuch Perfection; and was often asking every one, if they knew of any Body that excell'd him. But freſh Meſſengers continually following upon the Heels of the former, he return'd to *Rome* in a great Conſternation; but he was put in heart a little by a frivolous Auſpice he met in the Way: Obſerving carv'd out upon a Monument, a *Gallic* Soldier vanquiſh'd by a *Roman* Knight, and dragg'd by the Hair of his Head, he leap'd for Joy at the Sight, and worſhipp'd toward Heaven. Yet when he arriv'd, he neither aſſembled the Senate nor the People to lay the Affair before them; but inviting ſome of the Chief Men to his own Houſe, after a haſty Conſultation, he entertain'd them the reſt of the Day with an Organ of a new Kind never known before, and ſhewing them the ſeveral Parts of the Invention, and diſcourſing about the Nature and Difficulty of the Inſtrument, he told them he deſign'd to introduce it upon the Theatre, if *Vindex* wou'd permit him.

42. But when he knew that *Gallia* and both the *Spains* were revolted, he ſunk at once, and his Spirits failing, he lay ſpeechleſs a long Time as if he had been dead. As ſoon as he recover'd from his Swoon, he tore his Garments, and beating himſelf about the Head, cry'd out, *He was undone*. His old Nurſe endeavouring to comfort him, and putting him in mind that the ſame Things had befallen other Princes before him, *His Sufferings*, he anſwer'd, *were beyond them all, and were without Example; for He loſt his Empire while he was alive*. Yet did he not omit or abate any Part of his uſual Luxury and Sloth; but upon the firſt good Tidings from the Provinces, at a very rich Entertainment he broke out into jocular Verſes upon the Leaders of the Revolt, ſinging them to laſcivious Tunes which were vulgarly known, and accompany'd them with proper Geſtures. And being privately convey'd to the Theatre, he ſent Word to an Actor who pleas'd the Spectators wonderfully,

That he made too bold with the Employments of the Emperor.

43. At the Beginning of the Tumults, 'tis believ'd he immediately took ſeveral Reſolutions inexpreſſibly barbarous and vile, yet not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with his natural Inclination and Temper. As, To ſend new Officers to ſucceed the Generals and Governors of the Provinces, and a Set of Aſſaſſines to cut their Throats, for being all involv'd in a Conſpiracy againſt him, and promoting the ſame Deſign: To butcher the Exiles in all Parts, and all the Natives of *Gaul* that were in the City; the firſt, leſt they ſhou'd join the Revolters, and the others as Accomplices with their Countrymen, and Abettors of them: To give up both the *Gauls* to be plunder'd by the Armies: To poyſon the whole Senate at Entertainments, and ſet the City on fire, and let looſe the Wild Beaſts among the People, that they might not be able to ſtop the Progreſs of the Flames. But being deterr'd from this, not ſo much out of Repentance as Deſpair of executing it; and believing it was neceſſary to take the Field in Perſon, he diſplac'd the Conſuls before the Time, and aſſum'd the Conſulſhip alone, as if the Fates had ordain'd that *Gaul* cou'd not be conquer'd but by a Conſul. Having taken Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, as he was going out from Table, he lean'd on the Shoulders of his familiar Friends, and declar'd, as ſoon as he arriv'd in the Provinces he wou'd preſent himſelf before the Troops, unarm'd, and do nothing but weep; and that when the Revolters were recover'd to their Duty, the next Day, amid the common Rejoicing, he wou'd ſing a Triumphant Song, which therefore he ought to compoſe * out of hand.

44. In preparing for his Expedition, his firſt Care was to provide Carriages for tranſporting his Muſical Inſtruments, and to have the Concubines he took along

* *That he might have it ready againſt the Time.*

along with him trimm'd like Men, and to arm them with the Axes and Shields of *Amazons*. Then he ſummon'd the City Tribes to come in and Liſt; and no proper Perſons appearing, he demanded the Maſters to ſupply him with ſo many * Slaves, nor wou'd he accept of any but the principal Servants of a Family, not excuſing even the Stewards and *Anamnemſes*. He commanded all the Orders to advance a Part of their Eſtates, and that the Tenants of private Houſes, and the meaneſt Inhabitants, ſhould pay an annual Penſion to the Treaſury. He was alſo very ſcrupulous and ſtrict as to the Sort of Money in which they paid him, requiring freſh Pieces, the beſt Silver, and try'd Gold. Moſt therefore flatly refus'd to contribute any thing, inſiſting that the Informers ſhou'd rather be oblig'd to refund their † Premiums.

45. The People were alſo put into a Flame againſt the Champions he employ'd in his Shews, by a Scarcity of Proviſions which fell out at the Time: For it happen'd, that in a Publick Famine it was reported a Ship was arriv'd from *Alexandria*, and had brought nothing but || Duſt for the Emperor's Wreſtlers. Their Hatred therefore being univerſally excited againſt him, there was no kind of Contumely which he did not undergo. Somebody clapp'd a little Chariot upon the Top of one of his Statues, with an Inſcription in *Greek*, *Thou art now a* X *Combatant*

* *See* p. 77.

† *See* p. 355.

|| *A fine Sand to ſtrew the Place where they wreſtled.*

X *At once deriding him for debaſing himſelf to a Common Racer, and intimating the Time was now come when he ſhou'd not play the Charioteer in Jeſt, but all the Skill he was Maſter of, wou'd be neceſſary to keep himſelf from being thrown out of the Seat of the Government, and loſing the Empire.*

hatam indeed, and, *Away*, ⁂ *drag on*. A Satchel was hung about the Neck of another, with these Words, *This is the best I can give thee, but thou hast deserved a* * *Sack*. It was also wrote upon the Pillars, *Thou hast ruin'd the* † *Cocks with thy Singing*. And in the Night several Persons pretending to quarrel with their Slaves, call'd out very often, *A* || *Vindex, A Vindex*.

46. Beside these Things, he was terrify'd with apparent Portents, both old and new, of Dreams, and Auspices and Omens. When his Mother was murder'd, tho' he never us'd to dream before, he thought in his Sleep, that the †† Rudder of a Ship which he was steering was torne out of his Hand, and that his Wife X *Octavia* dragg'd him into a thick Darkness, and sometimes that he was cover'd with a Multitude of winged (†) Emmets; and sometimes that he was

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⁂ *Lat.* Traheret tandem: *An Expression us'd among the Charioteers, when the Driver was tumbled from his Seat and dragg'd along by his Horses, which usually cost him his Life. It alludes to* Nero's *being depriv'd of the Government, and perhaps put to Death.*

* *The Punishment of one who murder'd his Parents. It signifies that* Nero *deserv'd to suffer it for killing his Mother.*

† *A Pun upon the* Latin *Word* Gallus, *which signifies equally a Cock and a Native of* Gaul: *And accordingly the Satire has a double Meaning; That with his vile Screaming he wak'd the Cocks at Midnight, and that by his devoting himself to those Effeminacies, and neglecting Publick Affairs, he encourag'd the* Gauls *to revolt.*

|| *The Proper Name of* Vindex *the Governor of* Gaul, *who was in Arms against* Nero: *it also signifies an Avenger.*

†† *Portending his losing the Supreme Command.*

X *He had divorc'd and then banish'd her, and at last put her to Death upon perjur'd Evidence of his own suborning. This boded he shou'd follow her to the Shades below. Accordingly he kill'd himself upon the Day that she had been executed.*

(†) *Shewing he shou'd be assaulted by the enrag'd Populace.*

was ſurrounded by the † National Statues dedicated at *Pompey*'s Theatre, and ſtopp'd from going on: That a *Spaniſh* Gennet which he wonderfully admir'd, was tranſform'd in the hinder Part of his Body into an * Ape; and his Head alone remaining unchang'd, he neigh'd a Muſical Tune. The Doors of the *Mauſoleum* flew open of their own accord, and a † Voice was heard ſummoning him by Name. The *Lares* being || adorn'd on the Kalends of *January*, fell down as the Sacrifice was preparing. As he was taking Omen at his entring upon a new Office, *Sporus* preſented him with a Ring, in the Diamond of which was engraven, the × Rape of *Proſerpine*. And upon

† *Statues erected in Honour of ſeveral Nations under the* Roman *Command.*

* *Signifying perhaps, that* Galba, *who declar'd againſt him in* Spain, *ſhou'd force* Nero, *after all his Pride and Tyranny, to end his Days in a contemptible Manner: And the Muſical Neighs ſeem to allude to his miſerable Singing, which he was extravagantly vain of all his Life-time, and even at his Death he ſhew'd this lay next his Heart*

† *Like that of* Sicheus *calling his Wife* Dido *from his Tomb,*

Præterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum, &c.
Virg. Æn. 4.

A Marble Temple ſtood within the Grove,
Sacred to Death and to her murther'd Love:
That honour'd Chapel ſhe had hung around
With Snowy Fleeces, and with Garlands crown'd.
Oft when ſhe viſited this lonely Dome,
Strange Voices iſſu'd from her Husband's Tomb;
She thought ſhe heard him ſummon her away,
Invite her to his Grave, and chide her Stay.
Mr. Dryden.

|| *Dreſs'd with Flowers.*

× Pluto, *the God of the Dead, carry'd* Proſerpine *down with him to the Shades; and this ſignified* Nero *ſhou'd now deſcend thither.*

the Day of ordaining the Vows, at which there was a vaſt Concourſe of all the Orders, the Keys of the *Capitol* cou'd ſcarcely be found. When he told the Senate in an Oration he made before them againſt *Vindex*, *That the Guilty ſhou'd be puniſh'd, and ſpeedily meet their deſerved End*, they all cry'd out in a Body, *And ſo wilt thou* Auguſtus. It was alſo obſerv'd, that the laſt Play he ſung in Publick, was *Oedipus* in Exile, and that he concluded with this Verſe,

Θανεῖν μ' ἄνασσα σύγγαμός θ', πάντες πατήρ.

My Wife and Mother, and my Father, all
Doom me to Death, and hunt me to my Fall.

47. In the mean time Advice arriving that other Armies were alſo revolted, he tore the Letters in Pieces that were deliver'd to him at Dinner, and threw down the Table, and daſh'd againſt the Ground two fine Bowls he had a great Value for, and us'd to call *Homerian*, from ſome Verſes of *Homer* inſcrib'd about them. And cauſing *Locuſta* to bring him a Doſe of Poyſon, he put it into a Golden Box, and went into the * *Servilian* Gardens, and ſending off the moſt truſty of his Freedmen to *Oſtia* to prepare a Fleet, he ſounded the Tribunes and Centurions of the Pretorian Guard, whether they wou'd bear him Company in his Flight. But ſome declining it, and others directly refuſing, and one even crying out

† *Uſque adeòne mori miſerum eſt?*

Is it ſo terrible a Thing to die?

he debated ſeveral Things in his Mind; as, whether he ſhou'd in a ſubmiſſive Manner throw himſelf on the

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* *So call'd from the* Servilii, *a Noble Family at* Rome.

† *A Verſe of* Virgil, Æn. 12. Turnus *ſays it to his Siſter, who advis'd him to ſave his Life by Flight.*

the Mercy of the *Parthians* or *Galba*, or put on Mourning Weeds and preſent himſelf to the People, and before the *Roſtra* paſſionately beg them to forgive his paſt Abuſes, and if he cou'd not ſucceed ſo far, that they wou'd at leaſt permit him to hold the Prefecture of *Ægypt*. And a Speech was afterwards found in his Scrutore prepar'd upon this Subject. But 'tis thought he was deterr'd from doing ſo, leſt he ſhou'd be torne in Pieces before he got into the *Forum*. Suſpending his Reſolution therefore till the next Day, he wak'd about Midnight, and perceiving the Guards were withdrawn, he leap'd out of Bed, and ſent round about for his Friends; and hearing nothing from any of them, he went himſelf with a few Attendants to their Dwellings; but finding the Doors faſt ſhut, and no body anſwering from within, he return'd to his Chamber. In the mean time the Centries were fled, and had carry'd off the Bedding, and his Box of Poyſon was alſo remov'd. Upon this he immediately ſent for *Spicillus* the *Mirmillo*, or any Swordſman, to diſpatch him; and no body being found, *Have I then*, ſays he, *neither Friend nor Enemy?* and ruſh'd out as if he deſign'd to caſt himſelf into the *Tiber*.

48. But this Tranſport of Rage ſubſiding, he looked after ſome private Lurking-Place to ſhelter himſelf in, while he recover'd his Spirits; and *Phaon* his Freedman offering him his Country-Houſe, between the *Salarian* and *Nomentane* Way, about four Miles from the City; barefooted as he was, and in his Tunic, he threw an old weather-beaten Cloke over him, and covering up his Head, and binding his Handkerchief before his Face, he mounted on Horſeback, attended only by four Perſons, among whom was *Sporus*. But on a ſudden an Earthquake and a Flaſh of Lightning put him into a Panick Terror, and he heard the Soldiers in the neighbouring Camp ſhouting, and wiſhing Ruin to him and Proſperity to *Galba*, and a Traveller who paſs'd by, ſay to his Companions, *They are purſuing* Nero; and another

ther ask, *What News in the City about* Nero? His Horſe ſtarting at the Stench of a dead Carkaſs upon the Road, the Cloath fell from his Face, and he was known by an old Pretorian Soldier, who ſaluted him by his Name. As ſoon as they came to a Turning, they quitted their Horſes among the Thickets and Briars, and with a World of Difficulty (being oblig'd to ſpread his Garments under his Feet to help him along) he eſcap'd thro' a Reedy Ground to a Wall over againſt *Phaon*'s Houſe. *Phaon* preſſing him to conceal himſelf in the mean time in a Sand-Pit, he refus'd it, ſaying, *He wou'd not go under Ground alive.* And waiting a little, while they found a ſecret Paſſage to the Houſe, he took ſome Water out of a Ditch in his Hand and drank it; *This*, ſaid he, *is* Nero's * *boil'd Water.* He pick'd off the Briars which ſtuck in his Cloke, and crawling upon all four thro' a Hole they had beat down to let him into the Houſe, he threw himſelf upon a poor Flock-Bed in the firſt Chamber he came to, with only an old threadbare Cloke for a Coverlet. Being very hungry then and dry, they brought him ſome dirty Bread, which he refus'd; but he drank a little Water warm'd.

49. Every body preſſing him now to ſave himſelf from thoſe Indignities which hung over his Head, he caus'd a Grave to be made before his Face, exactly to the Dimenſions of his Body, and any Pieces of Marble that they cou'd find to be laid together, and Water and Wood to be provided for the cleanſing his Body, weeping as often as he look'd upon theſe Preparations, and often ſaying, *What an Artiſt is loſt in me!* As he linger'd, a Meſſenger of *Phaon*'s bringing in Letters, he ſnatch'd them out of his Hands, there he read, that *he was declar'd an Enemy by*

* *It was* Nero's *Invention, ſays* Pliny, *to boil his Water, and cool it in a Glaſs with Snow; that he might have the Pleaſure of the Coolneſs without the Prejudice of it.*

by the Senate, and was ſought after to be puniſh'd More Majorum: Upon which he aſk'd what Kind of Puniſhment that was, and underſtanding it was to be ſtripp'd naked, to have his Neck faſten'd between two Poles, and to be beaten to Death with Rods, he was frighten'd; and ſnatching up two Daggers he had brought with him, try'd the Edges of both, and then laid them down again, pretending, *his fatal Hour was not yet come.* Sometimes he ſpoke to *Sporus* to begin his Lamentations and Wailings, and ſometimes he begg'd ſome Body wou'd ſhew him how to die by an Example, and then again he rally'd his own Dilatorineſs in theſe Words, *I live with Diſgrace and Shame; This does not become, this does not become* Nero. *He ought to exert himſelf on ſuch an Occaſion. Awake then, and rouze up thy ſelf.* And now the Horſemen, who had Orders to bring him away alive, drew near; as ſoon as he perceiv'd it, he cry'd out trembling,

† Ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπον ἔκλυον ἐλθεῖν.

Of ſwift-heel'd Steeds I hear the trampling Sound.

and thruſt the Dagger to his Throat, by the Aſſiſtance of *Epaphroditus* his Secretary. As he was gaſping, a Centurion ruſh'd in, and clapping his Coat to the Wound, pretended he was come to his Relief; to whom he return'd no other Anſwer, than, *It is too late*, and, *Is this your Fidelity?* at which Word he expir'd, his Eyes ſtanding out and ſtaring to the Horror and Affright of all who ſaw him. He deſir'd nothing of his Attendants ſo much, as that his Head might not come into any one's Power, but that he might by all means be burnt entire; which was granted by *Icelus*, *Galba*'s Freedman, who was juſt before releas'd from his Bonds, in which he had been put upon the firſt Riſing.

50. He

† *A Verſe in* Homer, *Il.* 10.

50. He was conſum'd at the Expence of * two hundred thouſand Seſterces, his Corps being wrapp'd in white Garments woven with Gold, which he had worne upon the Kalends of *January*. His two Nurſes *Eclege* and *Alexandria* repos'd his Relicks in the Monument of the *Domitian* Family; which is to be ſeen from the *Campus Martius*, and ſtands upon the † Hill of the Gardens. In it is a Sepulchre of Porphyry Marble, with an Altar of Marble of || *Luna* upon it, encompaſs'd with × *Thaſian* Stone.

51. His Stature was almoſt of a juſt Proportion, his Skin was freckled and foul, his Hair yellow, and his Countenance rather comely than handſome: His Eyes were grey and dull, his Neck fat and thick, his Belly ſtrutting, his Legs ſlender, and his Health well eſtabliſh'd and ſtrong. For tho' he was immoderately luxurious, he had but three Fits of Sickneſs in fourteen Years, in which yet he neither abſtain'd from Wine, nor from his uſual Courſe of Living. In his Garb and Habit he was ſo ſhamefully negligent, that he always wore his Hair in Curls up one above another, and in his Progreſs to *Achaia* he let it hang at length behind his Neck. He generally appear'd in Publick in a looſe Gown, with a Handkerchief about his Neck, ungirt and in Slippers.

52. When he was a Boy, he began to acquaint himſelf with the Liberal Arts. But his Mother diſſuaded him from Philoſophy, telling him it was inconſiſtent with an Emperor; and his Preceptor *Seneca* drew him off from ſtudying the antient Orations, that he might hold him the longer in Admiration of himſelf. He apply'd himſelf to Poetry, and compos'd Verſes readily and without any Labour; nor did he, as ſome believe, publiſh other Mens for his own.

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* 8750 *Livres.*

† *It was call'd ſo from ſome Gardens very flouriſhing and fruitful, which lay by it.*

|| *A Town of* Etruria.

× *Brought from* Thaſſus, *an Iſland in the* Ægean *Sea.*

own. I have had ſeveral of his Note-Books and Papers, in which were ſome of his principal Copies written with his own Hand, which plainly appear not to be tranſcrib'd or penn'd from the Mouth of another, but to be invented by himſelf, and taken down as they came into his Head; there are ſo many Blottings, and ſo many Things ſtruck out and others interlin'd.

53. He had alſo a wonderful Fancy for Painting and working in Plaiſtering. He was extravagantly ambitious of Popularity, and emulated every one who in any Way pleas'd the People. An Opinion alſo went about, that after he had won the Crowns upon the Theatre, he deſign'd to enter the Liſts with the Wreſtlers at the *Olympic* Games: For he exercis'd every Day, and always beheld the *Grecian* Games, ſitting like the Judges who awarded the Prize, in the *Area* upon the Ground; and if any Combatants gave back too far, he puſh'd them forward with his own Hands. Believing he had already equall'd *Apollo* in Singing, and the *Sun* in Charioteering, he intended alſo to imitate the Actions of *Hercules*; and a Lion, they ſay, was * prepar'd, which he was to encounter naked, and to kill him with a Club, or ſqueeze him to Death in his Arms in the Amphitheatre in the Sight of all the People.

54. Toward the Cloſe of his Life he publickly vow'd, that if the Empire was ſecur'd to him, at the Games for his obtaining the Victory, he wou'd bring on a Water-Organ, a Chorus of Flutes and Bag-Pipes, and, upon the laſt Day, a Player who ſhou'd dance *Turnus* in *Virgil*. And ſome ſay he kill'd *Paris* the Player, as being a dangerous Rival.

55. He had an extreme Deſire, tho' he purſu'd it very fooliſhly, to eternize himſelf and make his Fame perpetual. He therefore aboliſh'd the antient Appellations of ſeveral Things and Places, and new-

nam'd

* *This certainly means he was made tame and weak, that ſo* Nero *might be able to overcome him.*

nam'd them from himſelf. The Month *April* he call'd *Neronæus*, and deſign'd to name *Rome Neropolis*.

56. He was an abſolute Contemner of all Religions, except that of the *Syrian* Goddeſs: Yet her he afterwards ſo much deſpis'd, that he defil'd her Image with Urine; being then far gone in another Superſtition, in which he perſiſted inflexibly. For a certain unknown Fellow of the Common People preſenting him with a little Image of a Girl, as a Protection againſt Treachery; and a Conſpiracy being preſently diſcover'd, he worſhipp'd it with the higheſt Adoration, and ſacrific'd to it three times a Day, and wou'd have had it believ'd, that by her Information he foreknew future Events. A few Months before he periſh'd, he inſpected the Entrails of Beaſts very carefully, but he cou'd find no auſpicious Omen.

57. He dy'd in the thirty-ſecond Year of his * Age, upon the ſame Day that he had murder'd *Octavia*. His Death was receiv'd with ſuch Publick Joy, that the People ran about the City with their † Caps. Yet there were not ſome wanting who for a long Time ſtrew'd his Tomb with Vernal and Summer Flowers, and ſometimes ſet up Images of him in Robes at the *Roſtra*, and ſometimes publiſh'd Edicts in his Name, as if he were alive, and wou'd ſuddenly return to the Deſtruction of his Enemies. And *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians*, ſending Ambaſſadors to the Senate to renew the Alliance, earneſtly deſir'd them to honour the Memory of *Nero*. In a Word, when twenty Years after, while I was a Youth, there appear'd one of an uncertain Condition, who affirm'd himſelf to be *Nero*, the Name was ſo dear to the *Parthians*, that they aſſiſted him zealouſly, and cou'd hardly be induc'd to deliver him up.

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* *And the fourteenth of his Reign.* *See* p. 387.

† *In Token they had recover'd their Liberty.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *Sergius Sulpitius Galba.*

THE Family of the *Cæsars* was extinct in *Nero*; which was prefignify'd by ſeveral Omens, of which two were very apparent and clear. *Livia*, immediately after her Marriage with *Auguſtus*, going to her *Villa* by *Veii*, an Eagle flew round her, and let fall into her Lap a white Hen with a Laurel-Branch in its Bill, juſt as ſhe held it when the Eagle ſnatch'd her up: And *Livia* cauſing the Hen to be taken care of, and the Laurel to be planted, ſuch a Brood of Chickens was produc'd, that the *Villa* is to this Day call'd, *The Villa ad * Gallinas*. The Laurel alſo flouriſh'd ſo abundantly, that the *Cæſars* at their Triumphs gather'd their Wreaths from thence, and made it a Cuſtom preſently to ſet a new Laurel in the ſame Place. And it was obſerv'd, that upon the Death of every Emperor, the Tree which he had planted wither'd away.

* *From* Gallina, *a Hen.*

away. Accordingly, in the last Year of *Nero*, the whole Grove of Laurels perish'd to the Root, and all the Chickens that were remaining, dy'd. The Temple of the *Cæsars* was also struck with Lightning, and the Heads fell off from all the Statues, and *Augustus*'s Sceptre was shaken out of his Hand.

2. To *Nero* succeeded *Galba*, who was in no Degree related to the *Cæsars*, tho' he was undoubtedly of very noble Quality, and descended from an illustrious and antient Line. For in the Titles of his Statues he always wrote himself *Great Grandson of* *Q. CATULUS CAPITOLINUS*: And when he was Emperor, he affix'd a Genealogical Table in his Hall, in which he trac'd up his Paternal Original to *Jupiter*, and his Maternal to *Pasiphae* the Wife of *Minos*. It wou'd be tedious to mention the Images and Monuments of all the Line; I shall therefore briefly relate those of his particular Branch.

3. Who of the *Sulpicii* first bore the *Cognomen* of *Galba*, and why or from whence he assum'd it, is uncertain. Some think that he fir'd a Town in *Spain*, which had been long besieg'd in vain, with Torches dipt in *Galbanum*; and others, that in a continu'd Indisposition which hung upon him, he constantly wore about him a certain Remedy wrapp'd in Wool call'd a *Galbeum*; and some, because he was a fat bulky Man, which the *Gauls* term *Galba*; or on the contrary, because he was very slender, like the Animals that breed in Oaks, and are call'd *Galbæ*. *Sergius Galba*, a Consular Man, added to the Reputation of the Family, being one of the most eloquent Persons in his Time. 'Tis said, that being made Pretor of *Spain*, he perfidiously put thirty thousand *Lusitanians* to the Sword, and thereby drew on the War with *Viriatus*. His Grandson, who had been *Julius Cæsar*'s Lieutenant in *Gaul*, being enrag'd against him because

* *The same as repair'd the* Capitol, *p.* 8. *from whence he had the* Cognomen *of* Capitolinus.

because he was defeated of the Consulate, join'd in the Conspiracy with *Cassius* and *Brutus*, and was condemn'd for it by the *Pedian* Law. From him sprung the Grandfather and Father of *Galba* the Emperor. His Grandfather was more distinguish'd by his Learning than Honours, never rising above the Prætorship; but he publish'd a History very copious and exact. His Father enjoy'd the Consulate; and tho' he was short, hump-shoulder'd, and had but slender Abilities in Pleading, was a most diligent and constant Attender on the Business of the Bar. He had for his Wives *Mummia Achaia*, the Grand-Daughter of *Catulus*, and Great Grand-Daughter of *L. Mummius* who destroy'd *Corinth*; and *Livia Ocellina*, who was rich and a great Beauty And she is thought to have made Advances to him first, and that very warmly, on account of his Reputation and Quality; tho' upon her pressing him close, he had undress'd himself before her in private, and shew'd her the Deformity of his Body, that she might not imagine herself impos'd on by his concealing it. By *Achaia* he had *Caius* and *Sergius*: The elder of whom, *Caius*, having spent his Estate, retir'd from the City, and being forbidden by *Tiberius* to take his Lot for the Proconsulship in his Turn, he put an End to his Life with his own Hands.

4. *Sergius Galba* the Emperor, was born in the Consulate of *M. Valerius Messalla* and *Cn. Lentulus*, on the * ninth of the Kalends of *January*, in a *Villa* beneath a Hill, near *Terracina* on the left Hand of the Road to *Fundi*. Being adopted by his Step-Mother, he assum'd the Name of *Livius*, and the Cognomen of *Ocella*'s Family, and chang'd his *Prænomen*; for he presently took that of *Lucius* instead of *Sergius*, and continu'd to use it till he arriv'd at the Empire.

† *Augustus*,

* December 22.

† *Auguſtus*, 'tis well known, as he was making his Salutation to him among a Company of Boys of the ſame Age, taking hold of his little Cheek, Καὶ σὺ παῖδον ἔσῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐμοῦ μεταλήψῃ; *Child*, ſays he, *thou alſo ſhalt have a Taſte of our Imperial Power.* And *Tiberius* perceiving he wou'd come to be Emperor, tho' not till he was in Years, *Vivat ſane, quando id ad me nihil pertinet*; *With all my Heart*, ſays he, *let him live, ſince I am not concern'd in the Matter.* As his Grandfather alſo was propitiating the Gods after a great Thunder, an Eagle ſnatch'd the Entrails out of his Hands, and carry'd them off to an Oak full of Acorns; upon which it was anſwer'd, that it portended the Family ſhou'd obtain the Supreme Dignity, tho' late; the Old Man fell a laughing at the Anſwer, *Ay*, ſays he, *when the Mule brings forth.* And nothing after this gave *Galba* ſo much Spirit when he was puſhing his Deſigns, as the Foaling of a Mule; which while others deteſted as an Obſcene Omen, he receiv'd it as the moſt Joyful that cou'd be, remembring his Grandfather's Sacrifice and Saying. Having put on the Virile Gown, he dream'd he heard *Fortune* calling to him and telling him, *She ſtood at his Gate quite weary and out of Breath, and unleſs ſhe were immediately taken in, ſhe ſhou'd be made a Prey to the firſt that came.* As ſoon as he wak'd he open'd his Doors, and found a Brazen Image of the Goddeſs above a Cubit long juſt before the Threſhold; and taking it in his Arms carry'd it away to *Tuſculum*, where he generally paſs'd the Summer; and having conſecrated it in an Apartment of the Houſe, he worſhipp'd it always with monthly Supplications and an annual Vigil. Tho' he was not yet arriv'd to Years of Maturity

† Galba *muſt be now at leaſt fifty-four Years old, ſuppoſing this to be ſpoken by* Auguſtus *in the laſt Year of his Life*: *For* Tiberius *reign'd twenty-three Years*, Caligula *three*, Claudius *fourteen, and* Nero *fourteen, beſide the odd Months and Days.*

city, he obſtinately kept up the antient Cuſtom of the City, which was now grown obſolete and was only us'd in his Houſe, that his Freedmen and Slaves ſhou'd all wait upon him twice a Day to wiſh him a Good Morning and Good Night.

5. Among the Liberal Sciences he alſo apply'd himſelf to the Law. He took care to marry, but having loſt his Wife *Lepida* and his two Sons by her, he continu'd to live ſingle, and cou'd on no Terms be prevail'd with to alter his Condition, not even by the Addreſſes of *Agrippina*, now a Widow by the Death of her Husband *Domitius*, who had urg'd him all manner of Ways while his Wife was yet living; inſomuch that in an Aſſembly of Matrons, *Galba*'s Mother *Lepida* reprimanded her ſeverely, and even ſtruck her with her Hand. He had a Veneration for *Livia Auguſta* beyond all others, and was highly in Favour with her while ſhe liv'd, and was likely to have been vaſtly enrich'd by her when ſhe dy'd: For the largeſt Legacy of all (* fifty Millions of Seſterces) being left to him, becauſe the Sum was wrote in Abbreviations and not in Words at length, *Tiberius*, who was her Heir, reduc'd it to a Thouſand, and even that he never receiv'd.

6. Being promoted to Honours before the legal Time, when he was Pretor he exhibited at the Floral Games a new Kind of Spectacle, Elephants walking on the Ropes. After this he was Preſident of the Province of *Aquitania* almoſt a Year, and then bore an † ordinary Conſulſhip for ſix Months; in which he happen'd to ſucceed *L. Domitius*, *Nero*'s Father, and *Salvius Otho*, the Father of *Otho*, ſucceeded him, a Preſage as it were of his following Fortune, by which he came to be Emperor between the Sons of both. Being appointed by *Caius Ceſar* to command

* 2187500 *Livres.*

† i. e. *He began it on the Kalends of* January, *and was choſen as uſual, and not ſubſtituted in another's ſtead.*

mand the Legions in *Getulicus*'s Room, the Day after his Arrival among them, he reſtrain'd their Clapping at a ſolemn Shew which happen'd to be preſented, publiſhing an Order, *That they ſhou'd keep their Hands within their Cloaks.* Immediately the Word was given thro' the Camp,

Diſce miles militare, Galba eſt, non Getulicus.

Soldiers, mind your Arms, 'tis *Galba*, not *Getulicus.*

With the ſame Severity alſo he forbad them to ſue for Furloes of Abſence. The Veteranes and the new Levies he improv'd by continual Exerciſe: And having repuls'd the Barbarians in Time, who had made an Irruption into *Gaul*, he recommended himſelf and his Troops ſo highly to *Caius* who was reviewing them, that among innumerable Bodies of Forces drawn together out of all the Provinces, none receiv'd a greater Character from him, nor more ample Rewards. He alſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by leading up a Military Proceſſion in the Camp, arm'd with a * Target, and running by the Emperor's Chariot for twenty Miles.

7. When the News of *Caius*'s Murder came abroad, ſome preſs'd him to embrace the Occaſion, but he rather choſe to be quiet; which ſo ingratiated him with *Claudius*, that he admitted him into the Number of his intimate Friends; and upon his being taken ill on a ſudden, tho' not dangerouſly, he put off the Day appointed for his Expedition into *Britain.* He obtain'd the Conſulſhip of *Africk* for two Years, being elected extraordinarily to ſettle and regulate that Province, which was all in Confuſion by its Civil Diſſentions and the Inſurrections of the Barbarians. He reſtor'd it by a ſtrict Courſe of Severity and Juſtice, even in the minuteſt Things. Proviſions

* *See the Note* p. 353.

Provisions falling short in their March, a Soldier was accus'd of selling the Remainder of his Share, being a Bushel of Wheat, for a hundred Denaries; and he forbad any, when the Fellow shou'd come to want Victuals himself, to relieve him, by which Means he was starv'd to Death. As to his Judicial Decisions, the Property of a certain Beast being call'd in Question, and the Arguments and Witnesses on both Hands proving very weak and imperfect, and it being difficult consequently to guess at the Truth, he decreed thus, that the Beast shou'd be lead blindfold to the Lake where they us'd to water him, and there they shou'd unbind his Eyes, and that he shou'd be the Man's whom he made to first after Drinking.

8. For his Actions perform'd now in *Africa* and formerly in *Germany*, he receiv'd the Triumphal Ornaments and a threefold Priesthood, being chosen among the * Fifteen, and the † *Titii*, and the *Augustales*. And from this Time to near the Middle of *Nero*'s Reign, he liv'd generally retir'd. Nor did he ever take a Journey for his Diversion, but he had a Carriage attending him with a || Million of Sesterces in Gold. At length, as he was residing at *Fundi*, the Province of *Hispania Tarraconensis* was offer'd him: And it happen'd, that while he was sacrificing there after his Arrival, in a Publick Building, a Boy who waited and held a Censer in his Hand, had his whole Head of Hair turn'd grey on a sudden. Nor were some wanting who interpreted it to signify a Change of Publick Affairs, and that an old Man shou'd succeed to a young one; that is, he shou'd succeed *Nero*. Not long after, a Clap of Thunder breaking upon the *Cantabrean* Lake, twelve Axes were found in the Bottom;

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* *These were appointed to keep the* Sybilline *Books of Prophecies.*

† *Instituted by* Tatius *to perform the* Sabine *Rites.*

|| 43750 *Livres.*

Bottom; an evident Sign of the Supreme Command.

9. He govern'd the Province for eight Years variously and with great Inequality of Temper. At first he was rigid, vehement and extravagant in punishing Offences. For a Banker telling out a Summ of Money falsely, he cut his Hands off and nail'd them to his Table. And a Tutor poysoning his Pupil, to whom he was appointed Heir, he caus'd him to be crucify'd; and when he begg'd to have the Privilege of the Laws, and cry'd out he was a *Roman* Citizen, to alleviate the Punishment by a sort of Consolation and Honour, he commanded his Cross to be chang'd, and that he shou'd have one higher than all the rest erected, and painted over white. He chang'd his Manner by Degrees into downright Negligence and Sloath, that so *Nero* might be able to take no Occasion against him; since, as he us'd to say, *No Man is oblig'd to give an Account of his Idleness.* As he was holding a Court at *New Carthage*, he understood there was a Rising in both the *Gauls*; and while the Legate of *Aquitania* was imploring him to assist them, a Letter was deliver'd him from *Vindex*, pressing him, *to make himself the Deliverer of Human Kind, and their Leader*: And partly out of Fear, and partly out of Hope, he accepted the Invitation without much Delay. For he discover'd some private Orders *Nero* had sent to his Procurators to put him to Death, and was animated and confirm'd by some very fortunate Auspices and Omens, and by the Prophecy of an Honourable Virgin; which made the deeper Impression upon him, because the Priest of *Jupiter*, being directed by a Dream, had dug up the same Verses in a private Part of the Temple, which had been deliver'd in like Manner by a Prophetick Girl two hundred Years before. The Meaning of the Verses was, *That upon a Time a Prince and Lord of the World shou'd arise out of* Spain.

10. Ascend-

10. Aſcending the Tribunal therefore, as if it were to ſit upon the * Manumiſſions, and the Images of ſeveral who had been condemn'd and murder'd by *Nero* being produc'd, and a Noble Boy whom he had ſent for on purpoſe from the neareſt of the *Baleares* whither he was baniſh'd, ſtanding beſide him; he deplor'd the Condition of the Times, and being ſaluted *EMPEROR*, he declar'd, *He was only the Lieutenant of the Senate and People of* Rome. Having adjourn'd the Courts and proclaim'd a general Vacation, beſide his Body of Veterans conſiſting of one Legion, two Wings and three Cohorts, he rais'd Legions and Auxiliaries out of the Common People of the Provinces, and appointed a Number of the chief Men, who were moſt conſiderable for Age and Prudence, to be in the Nature of a Senate, to whom, as often as there was Occaſion, all Caſes of Importance ſhou'd be referr'd. He alſo choſe ſome young Men of the Equeſtrian Order, who retaining the Uſe of the Gold Ring, ſhou'd be call'd † *Evocati*, and keep Guard before his Bed-Chamber inſtead of the ordinary Soldiers. He alſo ſent forth Edicts thro' the Provinces, to engage all Perſons univerſally in the Deſign, that every one might contribute all the Aſſiſtance he cou'd toward promoting the common Cauſe. Much about the ſame Time, as they were fortifying a Town which he choſe to make the Seat of the War, they found a Ring, the Workmanſhip

* *The ordinary Time for theſe was the laſt Court Days, after the other Buſineſs was diſpatch'd: But the Judge, if he thought proper, cou'd call them on before.*

† *Old Soldiers, who had ſerv'd the full Time, and were therefore diſcharg'd by Law. They had afterwards the Honour of being form'd into a Band (much like that of the Gentlemen Penſioners with us) to attend only on the Perſons of the Generals. The young Knights indeed forfeited their Honour by this Employment, but* Galba *reſtor'd it to them.*

of which was very antient, repreſenting the Image of *Victory* with a Trophy, engraven upon the Gemm: And an *Alexandrian* Veſſel came into * *Dertoſa*, laden with Arms, without a Pilot, and without any Mariner and Paſſenger; that ſo no one might queſtion the War which was undertaken was juſt and righteous, and favour'd by the Gods. But on a ſudden the whole Affair was likely to have been diſconcerted and broken. For as he was coming to the Camp, one of the Wings repenting their having chang'd their Oath of Fidelity, were offering to deſert, and were hardly prevail'd on to continue firm in their Duty: And ſome Slaves which a Freedman of *Nero*, having firſt prepar'd them for ſuch a Piece of Treachery, preſented to him formerly, had certainly murder'd him as he was going to the Bath thro' a narrow Entry, unleſs upon their calling out to one another not to let the Opportunity ſlip, they had been examin'd what Opportunity they ſpoke of, and a Confeſſion of the whole drawn from them by Torture.

11. In the midſt of theſe Hazards and Interruptions happen'd alſo the Death of *Vindex*, which threw him into ſuch a Conſternation, that he was like one deſperate, and was juſt on the Point of putting an End to his Life. But Meſſengers coming in from the City, when he underſtood by them that *Nero* was kill'd, and all Men had taken an Oath to himſelf, he laid down the Appellation of *LIEUTENANT* and aſſum'd the Style of *CÆSAR*, and ſet forward upon his March, clad in the † *Paludamentum*, and || with a Dagger hanging down from his Neck upon his Breaſt: Nor did he return to the Uſe of the Gown, till thoſe who were contriving new Diſturbances were ſuppreſs'd; *Nymphidius Sabinus*, the Captain of the Pretorian Bands at *Rome*, and *Fonteius Capito*, a Lieutenant in *Germany*, and *Cluvius Macer* in *Africk*.

12. Before

* *A Town in* Catalonia, *now* Tortoſa.

† *The General's Military Robe.*

|| *A Badge of the Imperial Power.*

12. Before he arriv'd at *Rome*, a Report was ſpread concerning his Cruelty and Avarice; becauſe he had puniſh'd ſome Cities in *Spain* and *Gaul*, which did not ſurrender to him immediately, with exceſſive Tributes, and ſome with demoliſhing their Walls: And had put to Death ſeveral Superviſors and Procurators, with their Wives and Children; and melted down a Crown of Gold of fifteen Pounds Weight, which the People of *Tarraconia* had preſented to him out of the antient Temple of *Jupiter*, and upon its wanting three Ounces in the Weight, had oblig'd them to make it good. This Report was confirm'd and increas'd as ſoon as he enter'd the City. For going to reduce to their firſt Condition ſome * Marines whom *Nero* had erected into regular Soldiers, and they refuſing to ſubmit, and even ſtubbornly demanding back their Eagle and their Enſigns; he not only ſent in a Body of Horſe upon them to diſperſe them, but alſo decimated them. He likewiſe disbanded the Cohort of *Germans* which the *Ceſars* had form'd for a Guard, and which had ſhewn repeated Proofs of their Fidelity; and ſent them back to their own Country without any Reward, under a Notion that they were more inclin'd to *Cn. Dolabella*, near whoſe Gardens they were quarter'd, than to himſelf. It was talk'd alſo in Ridicule, whether the Thing were true or falſe, that ſeeing a coſtly Supper plac'd upon his Table, he fetch'd a deep Sigh. His Steward in ordinary laying a State of his Accounts before him, he reach'd him a Plate of Pulſe from Table for his Application and Diligence. And *Canus*, the Flute-Player, pleaſing him wonderfully, he gave him five Denaries, which he took with his own Hands out of his † private Cheſt.

 13. His

* *Lat.* Claſſiarii, *from* Claſſis, *a Fleet.*

† *It is in this Circumſtance that the Expreſſion of* Galba's *Avarice, and his extraordinary Affection for this Piper, conſiſts:*

13. His Arrival therefore was not very grateful, as appear'd plainly at the firſt Publick Shew. For the *Atellanic* Actors beginning a noted Song,

Venit, io, Simus à Villâ;

Behold, the griping Clown,
Old Niggard's come to Town;

the whole Body of the Spectators immediately catch'd it up and went on with the reſt, repeating and acting it over ſeveral Times.

14. Thus he acquir'd the Empire with more Applauſe and Authority than he adminiſter'd it; and tho' he certainly gave many Proofs of a moſt excellent Prince, yet the People were not ſo much won by theſe as they were diſpleas'd by thoſe Actions which he did amiſs. He was govern'd by three Perſons, whom, becauſe they all liv'd together in his Palace, and were continually at his Elbow, they commonly call'd his Pedagogues. Theſe were *T. Vinicius*, his Lieutenant in *Spain*, a Man infinitely rapacious; *Cornelius Laco*, who was advanc'd from being an Aſſeſſor to the Judges, to be Prefect of the Pretorian Bands, and was intolerable for his Arrogance and Slothe; and *Icelus*, a Freedman, who had been honour'd a little while ago with a Gold Ring and the Cognomen of *Martianus*, and now ſtood Candidate for the higheſt Poſt belonging to the Equeſtrian Order. To theſe Men, whoſe Vices rag'd in different Manners, he ſo ſurrender'd himſelf and permitted them to abuſe him, that he was ſcarcely conſiſtent with himſelf: For ſometimes he was ſevere and ſparing, and at another time more remiſs and negligent than became an Elected Prince and one of his Age. He

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conſiſts: He was pleas'd with him ſo extremely, that he gave him Money out of his own Purſe, and yet he had not the Heart to make it more than five Denaries, or 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

He condemn'd unheard, ſome illuſtrious Perſons of each Order, upon the ſlighteſt Suſpicion. He ſeldom beſtow'd the Liberty of the City; and hardly allow'd the *Jus trium Liberorum* to one or two, and even to them only for a certain and determinate Time. And the Judges petitioning for a fifth Decury to be added, he not only refus'd it, but even depriv'd them of the Benefit granted them by *Claudius*, not to be ſummon'd to do Buſineſs in the Winter and at the Beginning of the Year.

15 It was thought that he deſign'd to limit the Offices of the Senators and Knights to the Space of two Years, and to confer them only on ſuch as declin'd and refus'd them. Of *Nero*'s Donatives, he allow'd the Perſons who receiv'd them to keep but a tenth Part, employing fifty *Roman* Knights to claim and recover the Reſt, with Orders, that if the Players or Wreſtlers had ſold what was given them, it ſhou'd be taken from the Purchaſers, if the others had ſpent the Money and cou'd not refund it. On the contrary, there was nothing which he did not ſuffer his Companions and Freedmen to put to Sale or give away; as Cuſtoms, Privileges, Puniſhments of the Innocent, and Impunities of the Guilty. And the *Roman* People demanding *Halotus* and *Tigillinus* to be puniſh'd, theſe alone, the very worſt of all *Nero*'s Emiſſaries, he protected; and more than that, he honour'd *Halotus* with a large Procuration, and took *Tigillinus*'s Part ſo far, as to tax the People with downright Cruelty in an Edict.

16. Having by theſe Things render'd himſelf odious to almoſt all the Orders, the Soldiers in particular hated him mortally. For when their Officers had promis'd them a Donative larger than ordinary upon their Swearing to him in his Abſence, he wou'd not ratify their Promiſe and make it good, but boaſted, *It was his Cuſtom to levy and not buy his Soldiers.* And upon the ſame Account they were exaſperated againſt him in all Parts; and the Pretorian Guards he enrag'd, both by putting them in Fear and treating

them dishonourably; for he made frequent Removals of them upon Suspicion, and as being *Nymphidius*'s Creatures. But the Troops in the Upper *Germany* storm'd the loudest, for being defrauded of the Rewards of their Services against the *Gauls* and *Vindex*. These therefore were the first who ventur'd to break from their Obedience, and refus'd to take an Oath on the Kalends of *January*, unless in the Name of the Senate; and immediately resolv'd to send Deputies to the Pretorian Bands, with Instructions to acquaint them, *That they were dissatisfy'd with the Emperor made in* Spain, *and wou'd chuse one themselves whom all the Army shou'd approve.*

17 As soon as he heard this, imagining he was not despis'd so much for his Old Age as for being without Issue, out of a Croud of Persons who were making their Salutations to him, he suddenly took hold on *Piso Frugi Licinianus*, a Noble and celebrated Youth, for whom he had formerly had a wonderful Esteem, and had always appointed Heir of his Goods and his Name, and styling him Son, he carry'd him to the Camp and adopted him before a full Assembly, even then also making no mention of a Donative; by which he gave *M. Salvius Otho* an Opportunity the more easily to accomplish his Designs, within six Days after the Adoption.

18. The Event which befel him was portended by great and daily Prodigies from the Beginning. Victims being slain on the right Hand and on the left in all the Towns thro' which he march'd, a Bull was frighten'd with the Blow of the Ax, and * breaking the Rope, ran full against his Chariot, and rearing up his Feet, smear'd him all over with his Blood; and as he was alighting, a Spear-Man of his Guard (the

* *The Victim's breaking loose and running away from the Sacrificers, was an ill Omen in general; and the Bull's smearing* Galba *with his Blood, must signify he shou'd come to a violent End.*

(the People preſſing in upon him) had like to have wounded him with his Lance. As he enter'd the City and afterwards the Palace, there was an Earthquake, and a certain Sound was heard like Lowing. There follow'd alſo ſome Omens yet more apparent. Out of all his Treaſure, he had made Choice of a Bracelet ſet with Pearls and Precious Stones, to adorn his Image of *Fortune* at *Tuſculum*; and ſuddenly, as if it deſerv'd to be beſtow'd in a nobler Place, he dedicated it to *Venus* in the *Capitol*; and the next Night he dream'd *Fortune* appear'd to him complaining ſhe was defrauded of the Preſent he deſign'd her, and threatning that ſhe wou'd alſo take back from him what ſhe had given him: At this, ſetting out for *Tuſculum* in a Fright by Break of Day, to expiate his Dream, and diſpatching ſome before to prepare the Rites; when he came, he found only a * few glowing Aſhes upon the Altar, and an † old Man in a black Garment ſtanding by, and holding the Frankincenſe in a Glaſs Veſſel, and the Wine in an Earthen Pot. It was obſerv'd alſo, that his Crown fell from his Head as he was ſacrificing upon the Kalends of *January*. And, as he was ſeeking an Auſpice, the Birds ✕ took Wing in Haſte and flew away. Being to make a Speech to the Soldiers on the Day of the Adoption, his †† Field-Chair, thro' the Forgetfulneſs of the Officers, was not ſet according to Cuſtom before the

* *As if he might let alone the Sacrifice, it being to no purpoſe for him to make it.*

† *An Omen doubly ill; becauſe the Man being old, was a Type of himſelf, and being alſo clad in Black, boded nothing but Ruine and Death: And the Frankincenſe and Wine being held by this miſerable old Creature in poor ordinary Veſſels, ſhew'd* Galba *wou'd be neglected and abandon'd.*

✕ *Before any Divination was made from their Feeding or Notes.*

†† Sella Caſtrenſis; *for the Emperors had a Chair proper for particular Places: That in the Senate was call'd* Curulis.

Tribunal; and in the Senate the Curule-Chair was likewiſe miſplac'd.

19. Before he was kill'd, as he was ſacrificing in the Morning, the *Aruſpex* often warn'd him to beware of a Danger, and that Aſſaſſinators were not far off. Soon after, he underſtood *Otho* had made himſelf Maſter of the Camp; and when moſt of his Friends adviſ'd him to go thither immediately, (becauſe it was poſſible his Authority and Preſence might have ſome Influence upon them) he reſolv'd to do nothing but keep cloſe, and ſecure himſelf by planting Guards of the Legionaries, who were alſo wavering and of a thouſand Minds. Yet he put on a * Linnen Breaſtplate, tho' he own'd it wou'd be of little Service againſt the Points of ſo many Swords. But being drawn to venture out by ſome falſe Reports, which the Conſpirators had ſpread about on purpoſe to tempt him to come abroad, two or three raſhly affirming the Buſineſs was over, that the Mutineers were quell'd, and the reſt were advancing in a Body to congratulate him, all readily diſpos'd to pay him the utmoſt Duty, to meet theſe he went forth with ſuch Aſſurance, that a Soldier boaſting he had kill'd *Otho*, † *By whoſe Order*, ſays he, and paſs'd on to the *Forum*. And now the Horſemen, who were appointed to do the Murder, driving full Speed thro' the Streets, while the Croud fled in Confuſion, when they perceiv'd him there at a Diſtance, made a Halt, and then galloping on again, came up and ſlew him, his Attendants deſerting him and running away.

20. There are ſome who report, that at the firſt Riſe of the Tumult he cry'd out, *What are ye doing, Fellow*

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* *Made of Linnen ſtrongly roll'd together ſeveral times.*

† *Very careleſly, without ſtanding to enquire into the Truth of the Fact. Or as reprimanding the Soldier, as if the Inſurrection of* Otho *was too inconſiderable to deſerve ſuch a Revenge.*

Fellow Soldiers? I am yours, and ye are mine; and alſo promis'd them a Donative. But moſt ſay, he offer'd his Throat to them, and bid them *do as they were commanded, and ſtrike if it was'd be for the Publick Good.* It is ſurpriſing that of thoſe who were on the Spot, not one offer'd to aſſiſt the Emperor, and that all who were ſent for ſlighted the Summons, except the Troop of *Germans*; who in Return of his late Kindneſs to them, becauſe he had generouſly ſuccour'd and reliev'd them when they were ſick and haraſs'd, flew to his Aid; but not knowing the Ways, and ſo taking a wrong Path, they arriv'd too late; For he was firſt ſtrangled at the *Curtian* Lake, and left there in that Condition, till a common Soldier, who was returning from a Diſtribution of Corn, threw his Burthen down and cut off his Head; and there being no Hair upon it for him to take hold by, he wrapp'd it up in his Lap, and afterwards thruſting his Thumb into the Mouth, brought it ſo to *Otho*, who giving it to the Rabble that follow'd the Baggage, they put it upon a Spear and carry'd it round the Camp in Deriſion, hallowing out at every turn, *Galba, cupidè fruaris ætate tuâ*; *Thou art a handſome old Fellow*, Galba; *Prithee take a Pride in thy Age.* What chiefly provok'd them to this Scoff, was, that a few Days before he appear'd in Publick, ſome Body commending his Perſon as very florid yet and luſty, he anſwer'd,

Ἔτι μοὶ μένει ἔμπεδον ἔντος.

My Strength is firm and undiminiſh'd yet.

The Freedman of *Patrobius Neronianus* purchaſing the Head of theſe Fellows for a hundred Pieces of Gold, threw it into the Place where his Lord had been executed by the Command of *Galba*. But at laſt his Steward *Argius* gave this and the Remainder of the Trunk a Burial in his own Gardens, by the *Aurelian* Way.

21 He was of a juſt Stature, very bald on the Head; his Eyes were blue, his Noſe hooked, and his Hands and Feet diſtorted by Pains in the Joints, ſo that he cou'd not bear a Shoe, nor turn over, or even hold a Book. His Fleſh alſo grew ſwelling out on his right Side, and hung down in ſuch a Lump, that it cou'd hardly be kept up with a Swathe.

22. He is ſaid to have been a very large Eater, having Victuals brought him even in the Winter-time before it was Light; and at Supper he fed extravagantly, and made ſuch Havock, that he order'd his Leavings to be gather'd up in a Heap and dealt among the Waiters. In his Luſt he was moſt inclin'd to Males, yet fancying ſuch only as were very robuſt and overgrown. They ſay that in *Spain*, when *Icelus*, one of his old Catamites, brought him the News of *Nero*'s Death, he not only kiſs'd him furiouſly before the Company, but even ſollicited him to retire, and took him aſide without Delay.

23. He periſh'd in the ſeventy-third Year of his Age and the ſeventh Month of his Reign. As ſoon as the Times wou'd bear it, the Senate decreed him a Statue to be erected on a Pillar call'd * *Roſtrata*, in that Part of the *Forum* where he was ſlain. But *Veſpaſian* aboliſh'd the Decree, becauſe he fancy'd *Galba* had ſent ſome from *Spain* into *Judea* to aſſaſſinate him.

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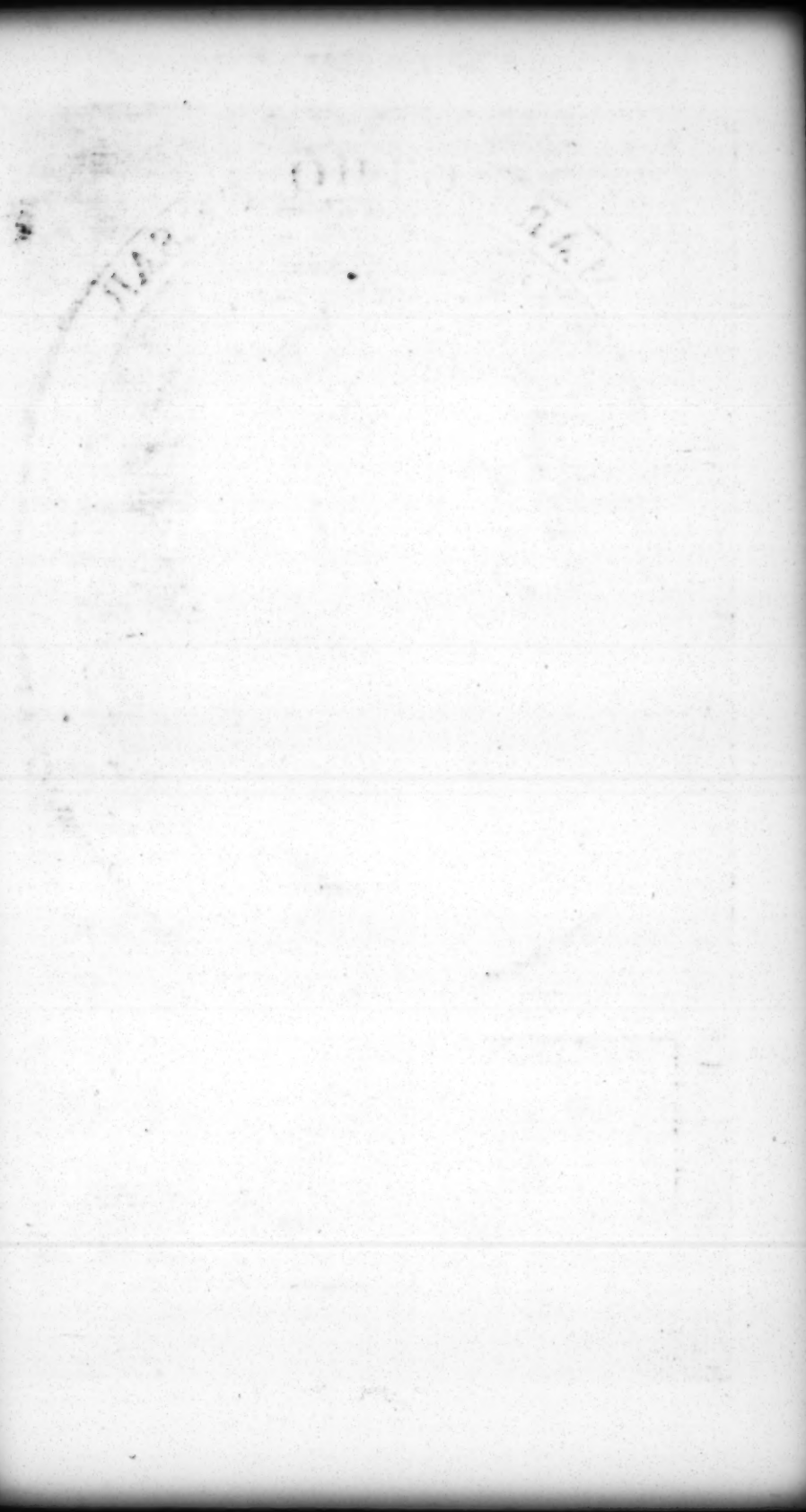
* *From* Roſtrum, *the Beak of a Ship, with the Figure of which it was adorn'd. This Kind of Pillar was firſt decreed to* Duilius *for a Victory at Sea.*

THE



THE LIFE OF *Marcus Salvius Otho.*

THE Anceſtors of *Otho* came from the Town * *Ferentium*, and were deſcended of an antient and honourable Family, and from the Princes of *Etruria*. His Grandfather *M. Salvius Otho*, whoſe Father was a *Roman* Knight, but his Mother of mean Condition, (it being uncertain whether ſhe was even ſo much as a Freewoman) was made a Senator by the Favour of *Livia Auguſta*, in whoſe Houſe he was bred up, but never roſe above the Prætorſhip. His Father *L. Otho* was nobly born on his Mother's Side, and had many and great Relations; and was ſo highly in Grace with *Tiberius* the Emperor, and ſo extremely like him in the Face, that ſeveral thought he was begotten by him. The City-Offices, the Proconſulate of *Aſia*, and ſeveral extraordinary Commiſſions which he ſuſtain'd, he executed with great Severity. In *Illyricum* alſo he adventur'd

* *A Town of* Etruria.

ventur'd to put to Death some Soldiers, because in *Camillus*'s* Insurrection they repented their engaging in it, and murder'd their Chiefs, as Authors of the Revolt against *Claudius*, and even executed them at the † Head of the Camp, and in his own Presence, tho' he knew *Claudius* had promoted them to a more honourable Rank upon that Account. By which Action, as he heighten'd his Glory, so he impair'd his Interest with *Claudius*; but he soon regain'd it, by discovering the Treachery of a *Roman* Knight, who, his own Slaves inform'd him, was designing to murder the Emperor; the Senate decreed him an Honour very rarely granted, a Statue in the Palace; and *Claudius* advanc'd him to the Order of Patricians, and praising him in the most ample Expressions, added, *Vir, qui meliores liberos habere ut ego quidem*; *He is a Man, than whom I never desire to have better Children of my own.* By *Albia Terentia*, a Woman of Quality, he had two Sons, *L. Titianus* and *Silvius* the younger, who bore his own Cognomen; and a Daughter, whom before she was marriageable he espous'd to *Drusus* the Son of *Germanicus*.

2. *Otho* the Emperor was born the †† fourth of the Kalends of *May*, *Camillus Arruntius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus* being Consuls. He was extravagant and impudent from his Youth, so that his Father was often oblig'd to correct him with the × Scourge. 'Tis said he us'd also to strole about in the Night, and laying hold on any feeble or drunken Persons he met, pull'd off his Gown, and tumbling them into it, toss'd them into the Air. After his Father's Death, he made his Application to a Freedwoman in

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* *See* p. 318.

† *The Custom was to have the Execution without the Camp, and in the Presence of the Centurion only, and not of the General.*

†† April *the* 27*th.*

× *The Punishment of a Slave.*

in great Favour at Court; and to recommend himſelf to her the more effectually, he pretended a wonderful Paſſion for her, tho' ſhe was old and almoſt decrepit. By her Means he inſinuated himſelf into *Nero*, and eaſily held the firſt Place among his Friends, by the Agreement of their Manners, and, as ſome report, by a mutual Proſtitution. And ſo extraordinary was his Power, that having bargain'd with a Conſular Man who was condemn'd for Bribery, to indemnifie him for a large Premium, he had the Confidence to bring him into the Senate to give them Thanks, before he had procur'd him to be pronounc'd clear in Law, and reſtor'd to the Privilege of the Houſe.

3. Being admitted into all *Nero*'s Counſels and Secrets, the very Day that he had appointed for the Murder of his Mother, he entertain'd them both with a very ſplendid Treat, to cover the Deſign the better, and lay all Suſpicion aſleep. *Poppæa Sabina*, who was at that Time his Miſtreſs, being taken from her Husband by *Nero* and intruſted with him, he receiv'd her into his Houſe with the Form of a Marriage. Nor was he content to betray his Truſt by engaging her Affections to himſelf, but he lov'd her ſo exceſſively, that he cou'd not bear with Patience even *Nero* to be his Rival. It is generally believ'd alſo, that he not only rejected the Officers who were ſent to bring her away to the Emperor, but that he even ſhut the Door againſt him when he came in Perſon to demand the Pledge, and kept him ſtanding without, mixing Threatnings and Intreaties in vain. The Marriage was therefore diſſolv'd, and he was ſent away to be Lieutenant in *Luſitania*; which was thought a ſufficient Reſentment, becauſe a ſeverer Animadverſion might have expos'd the whole Intrigue. Yet for all this it was plain it took Air, by this Diſtich:

Cur Otho mentito ſit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxorem mœchus ſperarat eſſe ſuæ.

You

You ask why *Otho* haſtily was ſent,
With ſeeming Honour, into Baniſhment:
'Tis a ſtrange Riddle, never heard before,
He ſought to make his own dear Wife a Whore.

He govern'd the Province in Quality of Queſtor for ten Years, with uncommon Moderation and Abſtinence.

4. But an Opportunity offering it ſelf for Revenge, he firſt of all aſſiſted *Galba* in his Deſigns, and at the ſame Moment entertain'd Hopes himſelf alſo of the Empire; very much from the Condition of the Times, but much more from the Aſſurances of *Seleucus* the Aſtrologer, who, as he had formerly declar'd he ſhou'd ſurvive *Nero*, came to him now unexpectedly, and promis'd in a little while he ſhould come to be Emperor. He neglected therefore no manner of Inſinuation and Addreſs towards any one; and whenever he made a Supper for *Galba*, he gave Gold, Man by Man, among the Guards who were then upon Duty, and ingratiated himſelf no leſs with the reſt of the Soldiers in another Way. One of them having a Controverſy with his Neighbour concerning the Limits of their Land, he bought the Field in Diſpute and gave it to the Soldier; ſo that there was ſcarcely a Man among them now, but thought and openly ſaid he was the only Perſon who was worthy to ſucceed to the Empire.

5. He was once in Hopes he ſhou'd be adopted by *Galba*, and expected it every Day; but after *Piſo* was preferr'd, he deſpair'd of it, and betook himſelf to Force; the Multitude of his Debts alſo augmenting the Perplexity and Diſturbance of his Mind. For he made no Scruple to own, *That unleſs he could make himſelf Emperor, he could not ſtand it; and that it was all one to him, to periſh by his Enemies in the Field, or by his Creditors in the* Forum. He had ſqueez'd a * Million of

* 43750 *Livres.*

of Seſterces, a few Days before, out of a Slave of *Caſar*'s for the Grant of a Stewardſhip which he procur'd for him; and this Supply enabled him to carry on ſo daring an Enterprize. At firſt the Thing was entruſted to five Spear-Men of the Guard, and afterwards to ten, each of whom produc'd two more. He gave them all * ten Seſterces in Hand, and promis'd them fifty more. Theſe proceeded to ſollicite ſeveral others; yet not many, becauſe they made no Queſtion but Numbers enough wou'd join them when the Deſign came to be put in Execution.

6. He was thinking to ſeize the Camp, immediately after *Piſo*'s Adoption, and ſet upon *Galba* as he was at Supper in the Palace; but in Reſpect to the Cohort which was then upon the Guard, he deſiſted, becauſe it might bring them under too great an Odium, ſince this was the ſame as had formerly done Duty when *Caius* was murder'd and *Nero* deſerted. The reſt of the intermediate Time he was reſtrain'd from Action by Religious Omens and by *Seleucus*. But the Day being fix'd, and Notice given to his Aſſociates to conceal themſelves in the *Forum* under the Temple of *Saturn* at the Golden † Pillar of Miles, he ſaluted *Galba* in the Morning; and receiving a Kiſs from him in Return, according to Cuſtom, he attended him at the Sacrifice, and ſo over-heard the Predictions of the *Aruſpex*. And now his Freedman bringing him Word the Workmen were ready, which was the Signal agreed on, he withdrew as if he was going to view a Houſe to be ſold, and ran thro' a Back-Gate of the Palace to the Place of Rendezvous. Others ſay, he pretended to be taken with a Fit of an Ague, and order'd thoſe who were by, to make that Excuſe for him if he was enquir'd after. Shutting himſelf

* *The larger Seſterce, 437 Livres.*

† *A Pillar from which the Miles of the High Roads of* Italy *were reckon'd, and upon which the Diſtances of Places were inſcrib'd.*

himself up then in a * Woman's Litter, he set out in all Haste for the Camp; but the Bearers being tir'd on the Way, he came out, and began to ply his Feet, when his Shoe loosening, forc'd him to stop: At last, to shorten all Delays, those who were about him hoisted him upon their Shoulders, and saluting him EMPEROR, brought him † amid their joyful Acclamations and drawn Swords, to the Head of the Camp, all they met falling in with them, as if they had been privy to the whole Design, and Accomplices in it. And now he sent some to dispatch *Galba* and *Piso*; and to engage the Hearts of the Soldiers the more strongly by his Promises, the chief Part of his Speech to them was, †† *That he shou'd desire no more for his own Share, than they shou'd think fit to leave him.*

7. Toward the Close of the Day he enter'd the Senate, and acquainted them in few Words with what had pass'd; representing as if he had been dragg'd from his private Employment in the *Forum*, and oblig'd by Force to accept the Empire, but that he wou'd govern according to the common Approbation of all Men; and after this he proceeded to the Palace. And when beside the other Applauses of those who congratulated and flatter'd him, he was call'd *Nero* by the meanest of the People, he express'd no Dislike of it: Nay, some have said, that in his first *Diplomata's* and Letters to the Presidents of the Provinces, he added the *Cognomen* of *Nero*. It is certain he suffer'd *Nero*'s Images and Statues to be replac'd, and restor'd his Procurators and Freedmen to their

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* *Because this was cover'd up close, to prevent the Person in it from being seen.*

† Inter faustas acclamationes strictosq; gladios devenit. *This Way of coupling together Actions and Things to one Verb, has a Sort of Impropriety in it.*

†† *Because he saw how much* Galba *had disgusted them by his Avarice.*

their Employments. Nor did he ſign any Orders more readily, than one for × five hundred Millions of Seſterces for finiſhing the ‡ *Golden Lodging*. That Night being frighten'd in his Sleep, 'tis ſaid, he groan'd piteouſly; and finding himſelf, upon the coming in of ſome who ran thither at the Noiſe, lying on the Ground before the Bed, he endeavour'd, in great Amazement by all ſorts of Expiations to atone the Ghoſt of *Galba*, which he perceiv'd had fallen upon him and thrown him out of Bed; and that the next Day alſo, a Storm of Wind blowing him down as he was making his Auguries, he mutter'd to himſelf ſeveral times,

Τί γάρ μοι ὦ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς?

* What have I, Wretch, with Holy Rites to do?

8. About

× 2187500 *Livres.*

‡ *Page* 373.

* *The* Greek *is literally*, What have I to do with long Pipes? viz. *ſuch as were employ'd in Sacrifices or Religious Worſhip.* Otho *by this plainly condemns himſelf for preſuming to meddle with the Rites of Religion, while he had the Guilt of Murder lying upon him. The Pollution of ſhedding Human Blood even in a lawful War, and much more unjuſtly, was a Natural Notion, and was common to the* Jews *and* Pagans.

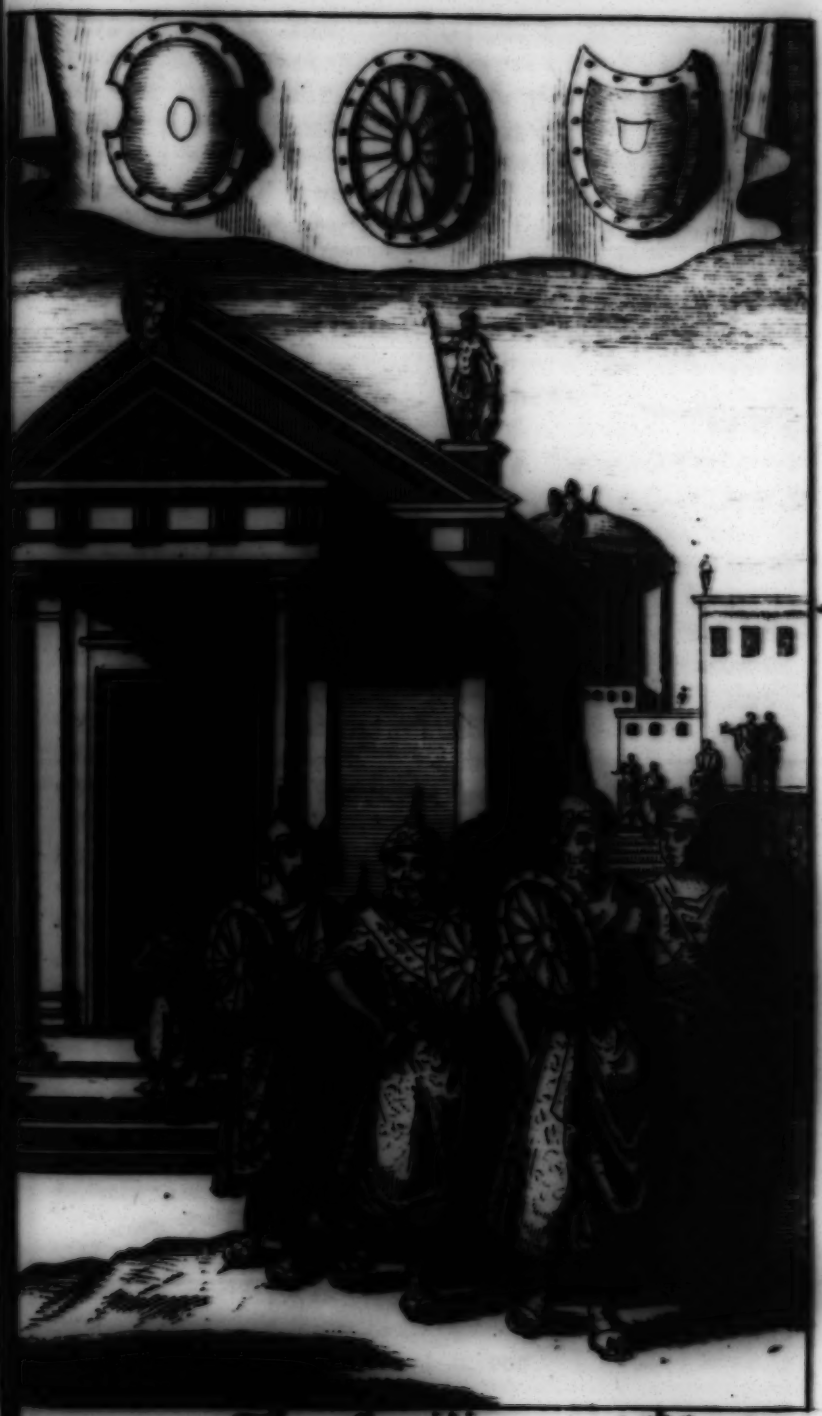
Me bello è tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.——— *Virg.*

In me 'tis impious Holy Things to bear,
Red as I am with Slaughter, new from War;
Till in ſome living Stream I purge the Guilt
Of dire Debate, and Blood in Battel ſpilt.

Mr. Dryden.

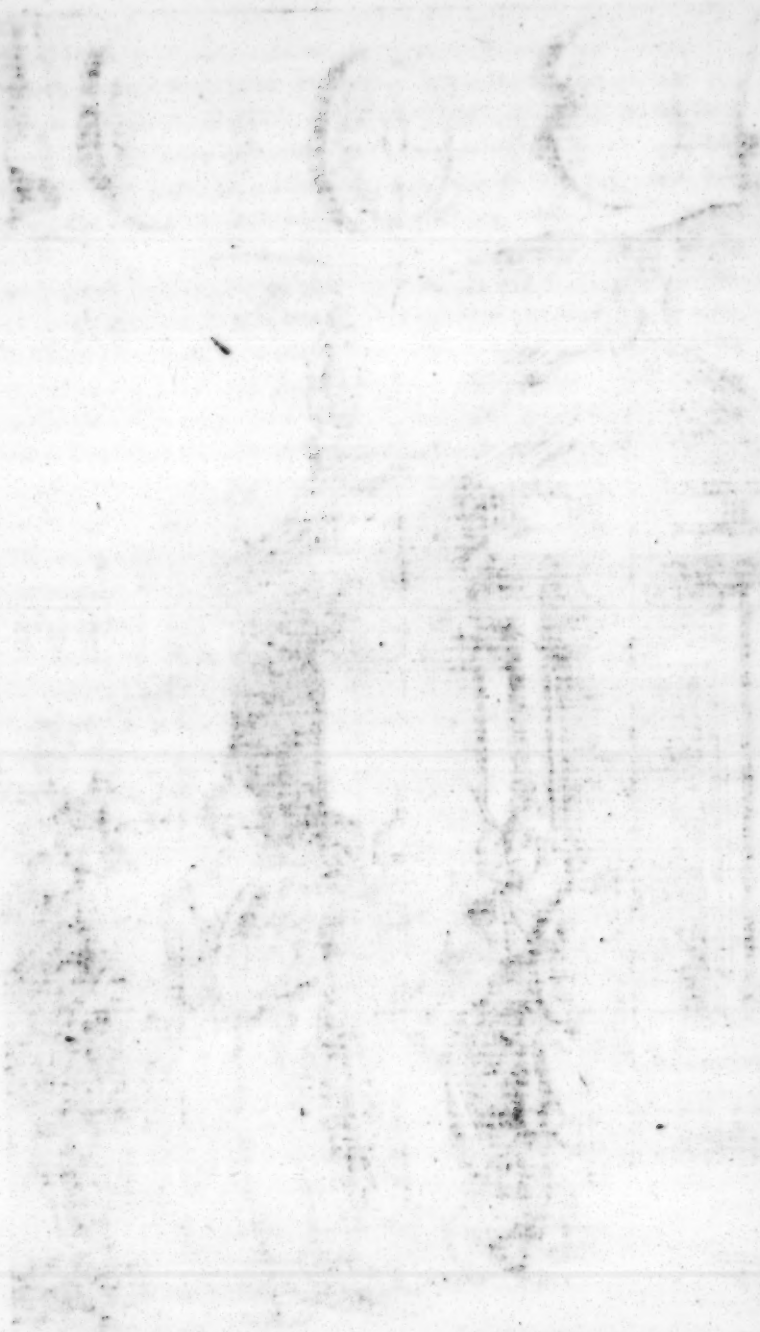
8. About the ſame Time the Troops in *Germany* took an Oath to *Vitellius*, which as ſoon as he underſtood, he mov'd the Senate to diſpatch Officers to them, to notify that a Prince was already elected, and to perſuade them to Peace and Concord: And yet by Meſſengers and Letters he offer'd *Vitellius* to become his Partner in the Empire, and his Son-in-Law. But the War being unavoidable, and the Captains and Forces *Vitellius* had ſent before, advancing, he had a Proof of the Bravery and Fidelity of the Pretorian Bands, almoſt to the Deſtruction of the Senatorian Order. For the Marines being order'd to embark a Quantity of Arms to be tranſported to another Place, as they were removing them out of the Camp by Night, ſome of the Pretorian Troops ſuſpecting it to be Treachery, rais'd an Allarm; and on a ſudden they all ran in a Body, without any certain Leader, to the Palace, asking Leave to put the Senate to the Sword; and the Tribunes who endeavour'd to reſiſt them, being beat back and ſome of them ſlain, they broke in, bloody as they were, into *Otho*'s Banquetting-Room, demanding where the Emperor was, and wou'd not deſiſt till they ſaw him. He began his Expedition with great Diligence, but with too much Precipitation; taking no Care of the Religious Rites; and the † Sacred Shields not being replac'd in the Temple after the Proceſſion, which was anciently eſteem'd as ill-boding. It was undertaken alſo upon the very Day that the Worſhippers of the Mother of the Gods began their Lamentations and Cries, and even under the moſt inauſpicious

† *The* Ancilia, *which* Numa *feign'd were brought down from Heaven, a Voice alſo declaring at the ſame time, the City ſhou'd always proſper while they were preſerv'd. They were carry'd in a ſolemn Proceſſion at the Beginning of* March, *and were hung up again in the Temple at the End of the ſame Month: And till this Ceremony was finiſh'd, it was thought unlawful to undertake any Publick Action.*



The Ancilia. *M. V. Gucht Sculp.*

p. 426.



cious Omens. For the Victims he slew to Father † *Dis* prov'd favourable, whereas in such a Sacrifice it was more desirable to have the Entrails of the Beasts prove otherwise: And at his first setting out he was stopp'd by an Inundation of the *Tiber*; and twenty Miles from the City, he found his Way block'd up by the Ruines of some Buildings that were fallen down.

9. And tho' all agreed it was his Interest to draw out the War into Length, the Enemy being press'd with Hunger, and embarrass'd by the Streightness of the Ways, yet with equal Temerity he resolv'd to take the first Opportunity to fight; whether he was impatient of being held longer in Pain, and in hope he might be able to give them a considerable Defeat before *Vitellius* came up, or whether he was unable to withstand the Ardour of the Soldiers, who earnestly demanded a Battel. He was not in the Engagement himself, but staid behind at * *Brixillum*. In three small Encounters at the *Alps*, near *Placentia*, and at the Place call'd || *Castor's*, he had the Victory; but in the last and the greatest, which was at †† *Bebriacum*, he was overcome by X Treachery. For there being some Hope of a Conference given, the Soldiers came out of their Lines as if a Truce had been agreed to, when on a sudden, while they were in the very Act of mutual Salutation, they were oblig'd to fight. Upon this he immediately determin'd to finish his Life, rather (as several are of Opinion, and justly) out of Shame, that he might not

† *The Infernal God. The Victims to him proving favourable, signify'd, he accepted the Sacrifice, and consequently that he should die.*

* *Now* Prisello *in the Dukedom of* Modena.

|| *Twelve Miles from* Cremona.

†† *A Town between* Cremona *and* Verona, *now* Labina.

X *The Story is at large in* Tacitus, Hist. 2.

not perſiſt to aſſert his own Dominion at the Hazard of the Publick, and of the Lives of ſo many Men, than from any Deſpair or Diffidence of his Forces: For the Troops he had reſerv'd againſt a ſecond Riſque, were yet entire and freſh, and others were alſo advancing to his Aſſiſtance from *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Moſia*; nor were thoſe who were beaten ſo diſpirited, as not to offer of themſelves to run any Danger alone to revenge their late Diſgrace.

10. In this Battel was preſent my Father *Suetonius Lenis*, in Quality of a * *Tribunus Anguſticlavius* of the tenth Legion. He us'd often to ſay, that *Otho*, even while he was a Private Man, had ſuch an Abhorrence of Civil Wars, that ſome Body happening once at Table to mention the End of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he fell a trembling; and that he would never have engag'd againſt *Galba*, if he had not been ſatisfy'd he cou'd not accompliſh his Point without a War: That he was now taught to deſpiſe Life by the Example of a Common Soldier, who bringing the News of the Defeat, when none believ'd him, but either accus'd him of a Lye or Cowardiſe, as if he had run away out of the Battel, he threw himſelf upon his Sword before *Otho*'s Feet, who, my Father ſaid, cry'd out at the Sight, *He wou'd no more expoſe ſuch brave and deſerving Men to Danger*. Adviſing his Brother therefore, and his Brother's Son, and all his Friends, to provide for their Safety as well as they cou'd, after he had embrac'd and kiſs'd them, he ſent them away; and going aſide, wrote a conſolatory Letter to his Siſter, and another to *Meſſalina*, the Wife of *Nero*, whom he intended to marry, recommending to her the Care of his Reliques and his Memory. Then he burnt the Letters and Papers that were in his Hands, leſt they ſhou'd bring any into Trouble or Blame

* *A Tribune of the Equeſtrian Order, For the* Latus Clavus *was worne by the Senators, and the* Anguſtus Clavus *by the Knights.*

Blame with the Conquerer; and divided what Money he had, among his Domeſticks.

11. Being thus prepar'd, and juſt ready to give the fatal Blow, a Tumult aroſe while he delay'd; and underſtanding that the Soldiers ſeiz'd thoſe who were beginning to ſteal away, and kept them back as Deſerters; *Let us then*, ſaid he, *add this Night to our Life*, which were his very Words; and forbad them to offer Violence to any one, and left the Door of his Chamber open till late at Night, to allow all the Liberty of coming in to him that wou'd. After this he quench'd his Thirſt with a Draught of cold Water; and taking up two Daggers, try'd the Edge of both; and laying one under his Pillow, he faſten'd his Door, and fell into a ſound Sleep. Toward the Morning he wak'd, and with one Blow ſtabb'd himſelf below the left Pap; and his Attendents ruſhing in at the firſt Groan, ſometimes he ſhew'd them the Wound, and ſometimes conceal'd it, and ſo expir'd; and his Funerals, as he had order'd, were X diſpatch'd out of hand. He dy'd in the Thirty-eighth Year of his Age, and the Ninety-fifth Day of his Reign.

12. A Courage in *Otho* like this, was agreeable neither to his Perſon nor Garb. For he is reported to have been of a moderate Stature, ſplay-footed, and bandy-leg'd; as nice and delicate almoſt as a Woman; for the Hairs that grew upon his Body he pull'd up by the Root; and the Hair of his Head being very thin, he wore a Border, which was fitted ſo exactly, and ſate ſo cloſe, that it cou'd not be known. He us'd to ſhave his Face every Day,

X *To prevent his Body's falling into the Enemy's Hands, and ſuffering the ſame Inſults and Abuſes he had before offer'd to* Galba's.

Day, and to daub it over with a || Paſte made of ſoak'd Bread; which he began to do at the firſt Coming of the Hair, to prevent his having a Beard. He often celebrated the Rites of *Iſis* in Publick, clad in a Religious Garment of Linnen. And hence, I believe, it was that his Death being ſo little of a Piece with his Life, appear'd the more ſurpriſing. Many of the Soldiers that were preſent kiſs'd his Hands and Feet, as he lay, weeping plentifully, and ſtyling him *A moſt Valiant Man, and their only Emperor*, and ſlew themſelves alſo not far from his Funeral Pile; and many who were abſent, when they receiv'd the News, drew their Swords and fought together till they kill'd one another, for Grief. In a Word, moſt Men, tho' they hated him while he was living, magnify'd and prais'd him dead; ſo that it was commonly ſaid, *he ſlew* Galba *not ſo much for the ſake of obtaining the Empire, as of reſtoring the Liberty of the Republick.*

|| Juvenal *derides him for this Effeminacy:*

Nimirum ſummi ducis eſt occidere Galbam, &c.
Sat. 2.

Galba to kill he thought a Gen'ral's Part,
But, as a Courtier, us'd the niceſt Art
To ſave his Skin from Tan; and therefore ſpread
Upon his Face a Paſte of muiſt'n'd Bread.

THE

p. 431.

THE LIFE OF AULUS VITELLIUS.

THE Original of the *Vitellii* is reported by ſeveral with very great Diverſity: by ſome, as Antient and Noble; and by others, as new and obſcure, and even baſe. I ſhould be apt to imagine Reports ſo extremely different might be owing to the Flatterers and to the Detractors of *Vitellius* the Emperor, if there had not been a Diſagreement ſome Time before alſo concerning the Condition of the Family. There is a ſmall Treatiſe extant of *Q. Eulogius* to *Q. Vitellius*, *Auguſtus*'s Queſtor, in which he affirms the *Vitellii* were deſcended from * *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigines* and *Vitellia*,

* *The third King of the* Aborigines, *the moſt antient People of* Italy.

—— Fauno Picus Pater, iſque Parentem, &c. *Virg.*

But Picus *came from* Faunus; Faunus *drew*
His Birth from Saturn, *if Records be true.*
Mr. Dryden.

Vitellia, who was worshipp'd in several Places for a Goddess, and that they reign'd over all *Latium*; the remaining Branch of whom remov'd from the *Sabines* to *Rome*, and were enroll'd among the *Patricians*; that some Monuments of the Line remain'd a long Time, as the *Vitellian* Way reaching from † *Janiculum* to the Sea, and a Colony of the same Name, which they desir'd might be committed to a Band form'd of their House, to defend it against the *Æquicoli*. And a Garrison being sent into *Apulia* in the Time of the *Samnitic* War, some of the *Vitellii* settled at *Nuceria*; the Posterity of whom, after a long Interval, came back to the City, and were restor'd to the Senatorian Order. On the contrary, several say a Freedman was the Founder of the Line. But *Cassius Severus*, and others, make him to be a Butcher; whose Son having rais'd an Estate by redeeming forfeited Goods, and by Informations, begat a *Roman* Knight upon a Prostitute, the Daughter of one *Antiochus* a Baker. But these inconsistent Reports I leave undetermin'd.

2. *P. Vitellius* of *Nuceria*, whether he was of an antient Family, or of ignominious Parents and Ancestors, was certainly a *Roman* Knight and Procurator to *Augustus*, and left four Sons of considerable Quality, of the same *Cognomen*, and only different in their *Prænomina*, as *Aulus*, *Quintus*, *Publius* and *Lucius*.

Aulus

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† *A Town of* Italy, *said to be built by* Janus. *It was so antient that even in* Evander's *Time* Virgil *makes it to have been in Ruines.*

Hæc duo præterea disjectis Oppida muris, *&c.*
Æn. 8.

He saw two Heaps of Ruines; once they stood
Two stately Towns on either side the Flood;
Saturnia's *and* Janicula's *Remains,*
And either Place the Founder's Name retains.
Mr. Dryden.

Aulus dy'd in the Conſulſhip, which he began with *Domitius* the Father of *Nero Cæſar*. He was very luxurious, and much reflected on for the extravagant Magnificence of his Banquets. *Quintus*, upon *Tiberius*'s cauſing thoſe Senators who were leaſt qualify'd, to be ſingled out and degraded, loſt his Rank, and was reduc'd to the Condition of a Private Man. *Publius* was the intimate Companion of *Germanicus*, and accus'd *Cn. Piſo*, his implacable Enemy and Murderer, and condemn'd him; and after he had ſuſtain'd the Honour of the Preture, was arreſted among the Accomplices of *Sejanus*, and being committed to the Cuſtody of his Brother, open'd his Veins with a Penknife; and having ſuffer'd himſelf to be cur'd, rather in Compliance with the Intreaties of his Friends, than from an Averſion to Death, he fell ſick while he was thus in Cuſtody, and dy'd. *Lucius* being after the Conſulate made Governor of *Syria*, by a maſterly Addreſs and Conduct won *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, not only to come to an Interview, but even to * worſhip the Enſigns of the Legions. After this, beſide two ordinary Conſulſhips, he held the Cenſorſhip with *Claudius* when he was Emperor; and in his Abſence on his *Britannick* Expedition, adminiſter'd the Empire. He was an innocent and induſtrious Man, but infamous for Love of a Freedwoman, with whoſe Spittle mix'd with Honey, he us'd to anoint his Temples and Jaws for a Cure, and that not ſeldom or in private, but daily and in publick. Having a wonderful Genius at Flattery, he firſt introduc'd the Cuſtom of † adoring *Caius Cæſar* as a God; for he wou'd not preſume to approach him at his Return from *Syria*, but with his Head vail'd, and ‖ turning himſelf about,

U

* *This was doing Homage to the* Romans.

† Victor *ſays, he did this to ſave his Life, which was in Danger from* Caligula.

‖ *An Act of Adoration with the* Romans.

bour, fell proſtrate at his Feet. And that he might neglect no Arts to inſinuate himſelf into *Claudius*, who was manag'd by his Wives and Freedmen, he begg'd of *Meſſalina* as the moſt valuable Favour in the World, that ſhe wou'd permit him to take off her Shoes; and when ſhe allow'd him, he catch'd away her Right Shoe, and kept it, and us'd to carry it always about him between his Gown and his Tunic, and frequently to pull it out and kiſs it. He worſhipp'd Golden Images of *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* among his *Lares*; and perpetually added, *Sepe facias*, *May ſt thou often do the ſame*, when he congratulated *Claudius* at his holding the Secular Games.

3. He dy'd of a Palſy, the next Day after he was taken, leaving behind him two Sons, by *Servilia*, a Woman of great Probity and of no mean Deſcent, whom he liv'd to ſee Conſuls, both of them in the ſame Year, which was ſhar'd wholly between them, the younger ſucceeding the elder for ſix Months. When he was dead, the Senate honour'd him with a Publick Funeral, and a Statue at the *Roſtra* with this Inſcription, *PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM*, *Of immoveable Fidelity towards his Prince*. *Aulus Vitellius* the Emperor, the Son of *Lucius*, was born the * eighth of the Kalends of *October*, or, as others ſay, the ſeventh of the Ides of *September*, *Druſus Caſar* and *Norbanus Flaccus* being Conſuls. His Parents were ſo frighten'd at his Nativity, which was foretold by the Aſtrologers, that his Father, while he liv'd, did all he cou'd to prevent his having the Charge of a Province committed to him; and his Mother, as ſoon as ſhe heard he was ſent to the Legions and was ſaluted *EMPEROR*, lamented him as loſt for ever. His Childhood, and the former Part of his Youth, he paſs'd at *Capreæ*, among the Catamites of *Tiberius*, and always went by the infamous Name of the *Spintria*; and the Merit of the Comelineſs

* *September* 23.

Comelineſs of his Body was thought to be the firſt Occaſion of his Father's Promotion.

4. As he was plung'd in all manner of Lewdneſs in the ſucceeding Part of his Age, he held the chief Place at Court; being the Darling of *Caius* for his Charioteering, and of *Claudius* for his Love of the Dye. But he was more in Grace with *Nero*, as well for both thoſe Qualifications, as becauſe while he preſided once at the *Neronian* Games, *Nero* having a great Ambition to diſpute the Prize with the Harpers, and tho' all eagerly deſir'd him to come on, not having the Reſolution to appear, but ſlipping out of the Theatre, he went after him as if he had been ſent by the whole Aſſembly, who wou'd take no Denial, and drew him back, and brought him upon the Stage as if he had been overcome by the Importunities of the People.

5. By the Indulgence of three Princes, being not only ennobled with Honours, but with the principal Prieſthoods alſo, he afterwards executed the Proconſulate of *Africa* and the Care of the Publick Works, with a very different Conduct and Reputation. In the Province for two Years together he acted with ſingular Innocence, when he was Lieutenant to his Brother who ſucceeded him. But in his City-Office he is reported to have rifled the Gifts and Ornaments of the Temples, and to have chang'd others, ſubſtituting Pewter and Copper in the Room of Gold and Silver.

6. He marry'd *Petronia*, the Daughter of a Conſular Man, by whom he had his Son *Petronianus*, who was blind in one of his Eyes; and being appointed her Heir by his Mother upon Condition he was * diſcharg'd from the Dominion of his Father, he ſet him free, and in a ſhort Time, as it is believ'd, deſtroy'd him, pretending he had a Deſign to mur-

* *Becauſe elſe he cou'd not claim the Legacy in Law, but the Right to it wou'd have been in his Father.*

der him, and that out of Remorſe he drank the Poyſon himſelf which he had prepar'd for the Deed. He afterwards marry'd *Galeria Fundana*, whoſe Father had been Pretor. He had Children of both Sexes by her; but the Son by a violent Stammering was render'd almoſt a Mute, and had ſcarcely any Uſe of his Tongue.

7. He was ſent into the lower *Germany* by *Galba*, contrary to the Opinion of moſt Men; but he was aſſiſted, 'tis thought, by the Influence of *T. Vinnius*, who had a very great Power at the Time, and to whom he had recommended himſelf before by favouring the ſame † Faction with him. Unleſs *Galba* had this Thought in himſelf, that none were leſs to be fear'd than thoſe whoſe only Care is their Gut, and that in the Produce of a whole Province he wou'd be able to live at his Heart's Deſire, and ſatisfy his enormous Appetite; ſo that any one might ſee, he was choſen rather out of Contempt than Favour. It is certain, he had not Money to defray the Charges of his Journey, and was in ſo low a Condition, that having privately lodg'd his Wife and Children, whom he left behind him at *Rome*, in a hir'd Chamber, he let out his Houſe for the remaining Part of the Year, and pawn'd a large Pearl which he took out of his Mother's Ear to raiſe a Summ for his Expence. A Croud of Creditors beſetting his Door, and detaining him, and among them the * *Sinueſſans* and * *Formians*, whoſe Revenues he had imbezzled, he had no other Way to repel them, than by making them afraid he ſhou'd impeach them upon the Law concerning || *Calumny*. For

† *Of the Charioteers in the* Circus.

* *The People of* Sinueſſa *and* Formia, *two Towns formerly in* Campania.

|| i. e. *He wou'd proſecute them for abuſive Language, and for inſulting him, as appears by the following Example.*

For a certain Freedman having formerly demanded a Debt of him ſomething roughly, he immediately commenc'd a Suit againſt him for kicking him, and extorted * fifty Seſterces out of him before he withdrew the Action. At his Arrival the Army, which was diſaffected to their Prince, and diſpos'd to a Change, receiv'd him gladly and with Hands held up to Heaven, as one ſent them by the Gods, the Son of a Man thrice Conſul, and in the Vigor of his Age, and of an eaſy and profuſe Diſpoſition. This old Opinion of him *Vitellius* had encreas'd by ſeveral freſh Inſtances, kiſſing, all along upon the Road, every common Soldier he met, and mingling with the Mule-Drivers and ordinary Travellers in the Inns and Stables, and being extravagantly civil and obliging to them, asking them every one in the Morning familiarly whether they had got their Breakfaſt, and then belching to ſhew them he had taken care to eat his own.

8. Upon his Entring the Camp, he deny'd no Man any Requeſt he made him; and of his own Motion took off the † Notes of Ignominy which were ſet upon ſome, excus'd the Guilty from wearing the Criminal || Habit, and releas'd the Condemn'd from their X Puniſhments. Wherefore

* *The greater Seſterce, 2 l 8 5 Livres.*

† *Theſe Puniſhments being all inflicted upon the Soldiers in the Camp, muſt be underſtood in a Military Senſe and not in a Civil. The Notes of Ignominy may ſignify a Soldier's being degraded to a meaner Rank, or put under a Sentence of Diſgrace, or expos'd to the whole Camp in ſome diſhonourable Poſture, like thoſe mention'd* p. 76.

|| *A dirty dark-colour'd Garment, with their Hair alſo uncomb'd and growing wild.*

X *Scourging, or ſome other Corporal Puniſhment. Here alſo may be obſerv'd the Impropriety of applying one Verb to ſeveral Nouns in a different Senſe; for the* Latin *is,* Ignominioſis Notas, reis ſordes, damnoſis ſupplicia demſit.

a Month was ſcarcely paſt, but without any Regard to the * Day or Time, when it was now Evening the Soldiers on a ſudden ſnatch'd him out of his Chamber in his Undreſs as he was, and ſaluted him EMPEROR; and being carry'd round thro' the principal Towns, holding † *Julius*'s Sword drawn in his Hand, which was taken out of the Temple of *Mars*, and deliver'd him by ſome body at his firſt Proclamation, before he return'd to his Tent, it was all in a Blaze, the Chimney being on fire; and when every one was concern'd at it as an improſperous Omen, *Be of good Cheer*, ſays he, *it ſhines upon us*; which was all the Speech he made to the Soldiers. The Army of the Upper Province, which had before revolted from *Galba* to the Senate, alſo declaring on his Side, he readily aſſum'd the Cognomen of *GERMANICUS*, which was offer'd him by all; but that of *AUGUSTUS* he defer'd, and always refus'd that of CÆSAR.

9 As ſoon as he heard of *Galba*'s Murder, he ſettled the Affairs of *Germany*, and divided the Forces into two Bodies, one of which was to be ſent before againſt *Otho*, and the other he was to bring up himſelf. The †† Party which advanc'd before, had a fortunate Omen; for an Eagle flew on a ſudden from the right Wing, and having rounded the Enſigns, proceeded leiſurely before them in their March. On the contrary, when he mov'd on with his own Diviſion,

* *Whether lucky or unfortunate for undertaking any Action of Importance, according to the endleſs Superſtition of the Heathen.*

† Julius Cæſar's.

†† *To ſignifie they ſhou'd indeed prevail againſt* Otho, *deprive him of the Empire (the Enſign of which was the Eagle,) and bring upon him the Puniſhment which he deſerv'd for murdering* Galba. *But the ill Omens which occurr'd to the Troops* Vitellius *led on in Perſon, ſhew'd he ſhou'd be very unhappy in his Undertaking.*

viſion, his Statues on Horſeback, which were erected to him in ſeveral Places, had the Legs broken in an Inſtant and * fell down; and the † Laurel, with which he had crown'd himſelf with great Solemnity, dropp'd off into the Stream; and as he was ſitting in Judgment at *Vienna*, a Cock perch'd || firſt upon his Shoulder, and then upon his Head. The Event was anſwerable to theſe Portents; for the Empire which his Lieutenants put him in Poſſeſſion of, he was not able to retain himſelf.

10. The Victory at *Bebriacum*, and the Death of *Otho*, he heard of while he was yet in *Gaul*; and immediately by one Edict he disbanded all the Pretorian Cohorts, as having ſhewn a moſt pernicious Example, and commanded them to deliver up their Arms to the Tribunes. But a hundred and twenty of them, whoſe Petitions fell into his Hands, which they had preſented to *Otho*, demanding a Reward for the Service they did in killing *Galba*, he order'd to be ſearch'd after and put to Death. A brave and honourable Action, and which wou'd have given Hopes of his proving an admirable Prince, if the reſt of his Deportment had not been more according to his natural Temper and his former Courſe of Life, than to the Majeſty of the Empire. For beginning his March, he rode thro' the Cities with the Pomp of a Triumph, and croſs'd the Rivers in rich Barges, magnificently adorn'd with ſeveral Sorts of Crowns, while Tables were prepar'd in all Parts with the utmoſt Profuſion. But he obſerv'd no manner of Order or Diſcipline among his Domeſticks or Soldiers, making a Jeſt of their Rapines and Abuſes. For not being content to be treated every where at the Publick Charge, they made free what Slaves they pleas'd, beating and ſcourging, and often wounding

* *To ſignifie his falling from his Imperial Dignity.*
† *This ſhew'd he ſhou'd finally be defeated.*
|| *This Omen is explain'd by* Suetonius, *p.* 446.

those who oppos'd them, and sometimes knocking them on the Head. When he came to the Fields where the Battel was fought, some being disturb'd at the Stench of the Carkasses, he had the Daring to animate them with this barbarous and ill-omen'd Saying, That *the Smell of a slain Enemy was very sweet, and of a Citizen much better.* However, to repel the Noisomness of the Savour, he drank a plentiful Quantity of Wine before their Eyes, and with equal Vanity and Insolence commanded it to be dealt round as they march'd. Observing a common Stone inscrib'd to *Otho*'s Memory, *He was worthy*, says he, *of such a Mausoleum*; and the Dagger with which he slew himself, he sent to *Agrippina*'s Colony, to be dedicated to *Mars*; and held a *Pervigilium* upon the Top of *Apenninus*.

11. Lastly, he enter'd the City with the Sound of Trumpets, in his *Paludamentum*, girt with his Sword, and amid the Ensigns and Banners, his Attendants also being clad in the Military Habit, and the Soldiers following with their naked Weapons. And now more and more neglecting all Divine and Human Rights, he assum'd the High Priesthood upon the Day of the * Defeat at *Allia*; and fix'd the Time for chooſing Magistrates to be once in ten Years, and made himself Perpetual Consul. And to put it out of Question what Plan of Government he design'd to pursue, assembling a Number of the Publick Priests in the Middle of the *Campus Martius*, he perform'd an Infernal Sacrifice to *Nero*; and at a solemn Festival, a Harper pleasing him very well, he call'd out to him to sing something upon *Domitius*, and the Fellow beginning a Song of *Nero*'s making, he was the first to shout and clap him.

12. Having

* *A most ill omen'd Day with the* Romans, *and branded in their Publick Kalendar, because they were beaten by the* Gauls.

12. Having made this Beginning, the greater Part of his Reign was manag'd by the Counſels and Pleaſure of the vileſt of the Players and Charioteers, eſpecially of *Aſiaticus* a Freedman. *Aſiaticus* had been defil'd with mutual Proſtitution in his early Youth, and being tir'd with the Life, ran away, and *Vitellius* catching him again as he was ſelling Verjuice at *Puteoli*, put him in Irons, and preſently releaſing him, took him into Favour again: But not enduring his ſtubborn and fierce Behaviour, he ſold him to a ſtroling Fencer, and ſtole him from him again while he was reſerv'd to conclude the Combat of the Day; and being himſelf promoted to the Command of a Province, he made him free; and the firſt Day of his Reign, gave him the Golden Ring at Supper, tho' when all his Acquaintance had requeſted it for him in the Morning, he expreſs'd the utmoſt Abhorrence of laying ſuch a Blemiſh on the Equeſtrian Order.

13. But being chiefly addicted to Luxury and Cruelty, he always made three and ſometimes four Meals a Day; as a Breakfaſt, Dinner, Supper, and a Collation after that; all which he cou'd eaſily perform, becauſe he had got a Habit of Vomiting upon Occaſion. He generally took his Rounds for his Meals, inviting himſelf for each to the Houſe of one and another of his Acquaintance in the ſame Day; and it never coſt the Perſon who treated him leſs than † forty Millions of Seſterces every time. But the moſt celebrated was the Supper which his Brother gave him upon his Arrival; in which, 'tis ſaid, two thouſand of the choiceſt Fiſhes, and ſeven thouſand Birds were ſerv'd to Table. Yet he exceeded this himſelf at the Dedication of a Charger, which, for the extravagant Magnitude of it, he commonly call'd *The Shield of Minerva*: For this Charger he fill'd with a very voluptuous Compoſition of the Livers of Scare-Fiſh, the Brains of Pheaſants and

† 10000 *Crowns.*

Peacocks, the Tongues of Phœnicopters, and the Roes of Lampreys, for which the Masters of Ships and Gallies ransack'd the Ocean from as far as the *Carpathian* Sea, and the * Streights of *Spain*. And as he was a Man not only of a boundless but also of an † unseasonable and sordid Appetite, he cou'd not forbear even at a Sacrifice or on a Journey, but wou'd catch up the Flesh from the Altars and snatch the Cates out of the Flames, and eat them, and even devour the Victuals in the Cooks Shops upon the Road, whether they were then fresh-dress'd, or the stale Leavings of Yesterday.

14. Being dispos'd to put to death or punish any one upon any occasion, he cut off, by several sorts of Treachery, the Noblemen, his Fellow-Pupils and Equals, whom he had ensnar'd by all manner of Blandishments, almost admitting them to a Partnership with him in the Empire. To one of them he administred Poyson with his own Hand, in a Draught of cold Water, which he call'd for as he lay ill of a Fever: And of the Usurers, × Stipulators and Publicans, who had ever demanded a Debt of him at *Rome*, or Duties upon the Road, he hardly spar'd a Man. Having deliver'd one of them in the very Act of Salutation into the Executioner's Hands, and immediately calling him back, while all were praising his Clemency, he order'd him to be executed before his Face, saying, *Velle se pascere oculos, He had a Mind to* †† *feed his Eyes*; and the two Sons of another offering to interceed for their Father, he commanded them to undergo the same Fate. A *Roman* Knight crying out, as they carry'd him off, *Thou art my Heir*, he oblig'd him to produce his Testa-

* *The Streights of* Gibraltar.

† *Eating out of all usual Hours, and devouring any coarse and foul Victuals which came in his Way.*

× *Bondsmen, who became Security to Creditors for performing the Conditions upon which they lent their Money.*

†† *With the Sight of the Execution.*

Teſtament; and when he ſaw the Knight had made his Freedman Coheir with him, he order'd them to be both ſtrangled together. He alſo put to death ſome of the common People, only for openly curſing the Faction of the Blue, looking upon it as done in Contempt of himſelf, and from a Hope of a ſudden Alteration. But he was more ſevere againſt none than the Fortune-Tellers and Aſtrologers, beheading any one who was accus'd, without hearing him. That which inrag'd him, was, that after his Edict, in which he injoin'd them to leave the City and *Italy* by the Kalends of *October*, a Paper was found publickly affix'd, aſſerting, *that the* Chaldeans *declar'd it* * for the Publick Intereſt, *that* Vitellius Germanicus *ſhou'd ceaſe to be before thoſe Kalends came.* He was alſo ſuſpected to have been concern'd in the Death of his Mother, forbidding them to give her Food in her Sickneſs; a certain Woman call'd *Catta*, whom he liſtned to as an Oracle, propheſying, *His Reign ſhou'd then be fix'd and laſting if he ſurviv'd her.* Others ſay, that ſhe herſelf being weary of the preſent Poſture of Things, and afraid of what was coming, beg'd her Son to help her to a Doſe of Poyſon, who made no great Difficulty to obey her.

15. In the eighth Month of his Reign, the Armies of either *Maſia* and of *Pannonia* revolted, and beyond the Sea, thoſe in *Judea* and *Syria*; and Part of them ſwore to *Veſpatian* in Perſon and Part in his Abſence. To retain therefore the Favour and Affection of others, he practis'd all manner of Liberality both in Publick and Private. He made Levies alſo in the City, upon Condition that ſuch as liſted voluntarily ſhou'd not only be diſcharg'd after the Victory, but even receive the Reward of Veterane-Troops who had ſerv'd the full Time. The Enemy preſſing him then by Sea and Land, he ſent his Brother againſt him

* Bonum factum, *the Words of Form, with which the Edicts began.*

him with a Fleet, and the new Levies and a Band of Gladiators to make Head againſt him on one Side, and on the other the Forces and Commanders at *Belviatum*. But being vanquiſh'd or betray'd in every Place, he bargain'd with *Flavius Sabinus*, the Brother of *Veſpaſian*, to ſecure his Life for a * thouſand Millions of Seſterces, and immediately declar'd at the Steps of the Palace before a great Concourſe of the Soldiers, *that he would reſign the Empire, which he had accepted againſt his Will*; and when they all proteſted againſt it, he deſiſted: And after a Night's Delay, as ſoon as it was Light, he went down to the *Roſtra* in a ſordid Garment, and with a World of Tears made the ſame Declaration again, reading it to them now from a Paper; but the Soldiers and the People interrupting again, and adviſing him not be diſhearten'd, and promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power, he took Courage, and ſurprizing *Sabinus* and the reſt of the *Flavii*, who ſuſpected Nothing, he forc'd them into the *Capitol*; and ſetting the Temple of *Jupiter* † *Optimus Maximus* on fire, burnt them in it; and beheld the ‡ Skirmiſh and the Burning from the *Tiberian* Lodging as he was banquetting there. Not long after, repenting of the Fact, and throwing the Blame upon others, he call'd an Aſſembly and ſwore himſelf, and oblig'd others to ſwear, that *Nothing was dearer to him than the Publick Repoſe*. Unbinding his Dagger then from his Side, he offer'd it firſt to the Conſul, and upon his refuſing it, to the Magiſtrates, and afterwards to the Senators Man by Man; and no one accepting it, he departed as if he was going to lodge it in the Temple of CONCORD: But ſome crying out, *Ipſum eſſe* CONCORDIAM, *That*

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* 4375000 *Livres.*

† The Beſt and Greateſt, *the moſt ſolemn Style which they gave to their Supreme Deity.*

‡ *The Diſpute when they ſeiz'd the* Flavii *and went to carry them to the* Capitol.

That he himſelf was CONCORD, he came back and aſſur'd them he would not only keep the Weapon himſelf, but alſo take the Cognomen of CONCORD.

16. He alſo perſuaded the Senate to ſend Meſſengers with the *Veſtal* Virgins to ask a Peace, or at leaſt Time for Conſultation. The next Day, as he was expecting an Anſwer, he was told by one of the Scouts that the Enemy was at hand: immediately therefore ſlipping into a Travelling-Litter, accompany'd only with two, his Baker and his Cook, he retired privately to *Mons Aventinus* and his Paternal Houſe, that from thence he might eſcape into *Campania*. A light and uncertain Rumor being ſoon ſpread, that a Peace was obtain'd, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be brought back to the Palace; and finding it all deſerted, and that thoſe who were with him were ſtealing away, he put on a Girdle ſtuff'd full with Pieces of Gold, and fled into the Porter's Lodge, tying the Dog before the Gate, and laying the Bed and Bedding againſt the Door.

17. The Forerunners of the Enemy had now broke in, and finding no Body, fell a ſearching, as is uſual, thro' every Corner, and pulling him out of his ſculking Place ask'd him *Who he was?* (for they did not know him) and *whether he knew where* Vitellius *was?* he put them off with a Lye; but being at length diſcover'd, he beg'd of them inceſſantly, as if he had ſomething to offer which nearly concern'd *Veſpaſian*'s Life, to keep him under a Guard in the † mean Time, tho' it were in Priſon; but they ty'd his Hands behind him, and putting a Halter about his Neck, dragg'd him half naked, with his Garments rent and torne, all thro' the * *Via Sacra* into the *Forum*, with infinite Taunts and Inſults, pulling

† *Till* Veſpaſian *arriv'd.*

* The Sacred Way, *the principal Street in* Rome, *called ſo becauſe the ſolemn Proceſſions to the Temple were made thro' it.*

pulling his Head back by the Hair, just as they use Criminals; and placing a Dagger under his Chin to make him hold up his Face to open View, some pelted him with Ordure and Dirt, and others call'd him * *Incendiary*, and † *Charger-Monger*. And Part of the Rabble also upbraided him with his Bodily Defects; for he was extravagantly tall, had a red fiery Face, occasion'd mostly by his Drinking, a large strutting Belly, and a Weakness in one of his Thighs, contracted by a Bruise he receiv'd by a Chariot, as he was waiting upon *Caius* in one of his Races. At last they put him to Death with short little Stabbings at the *Gemonian* Stairs, and from thence they dragg'd him with the Hook and threw him into the *Tiber*.

18. He perish'd, together with his Brother and his Son, in the Fifty-seventh Year of his Age; nor did he deceive their Conjecture, who, from the †† Omen which happen'd to him at *Vienna*, foretold it certainly portended, that he shou'd fall into the Hands of some *Gaulish* Man. Accordingly he was taken by *Antonius Primus*, a Commander of the Enemy's, who was born at *Tholouse*, and in his Childhood had the Cognomen of -|- *Beccus*, which signifies the Bill of a Cock.

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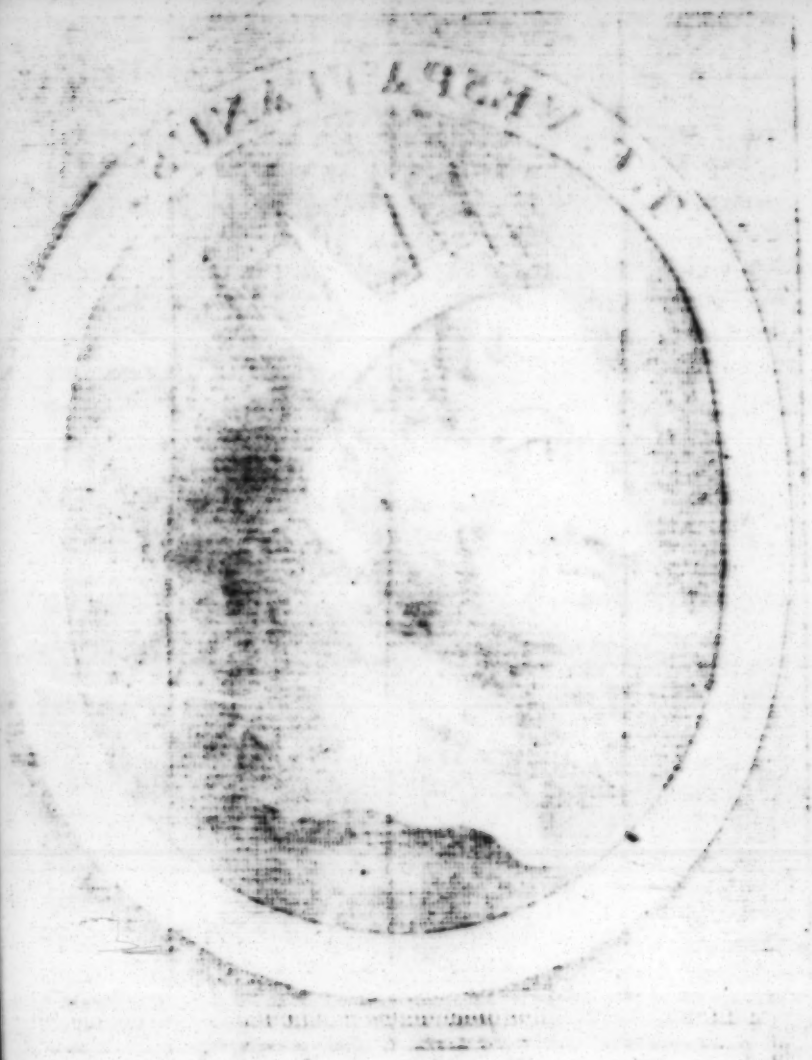
* *Because he set the* Capitol *on fire.*

† *From the Charger which he dedicated, and made a Treat in.*

†† *See* p. 439.

-|- *Hence also our Word*, Beak, *of a Bird.*

THE



p. 447.

THE LIFE OF *Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus.*

THE Empire, which by the * Rebellion and Murder of three Princes had been long in a doubtful and unſettled Condition, coming at length to the *Flavian* Family, was eſtabliſh'd by them and fix'd. A Family obſcure indeed, and which had no Images of their Anceſtors among them, but of which the Republick had no Reaſon to repent, tho' it ſuffer'd juſtly, 'tis true, for the Avarice and Cruelty of *Domitian*. *Titus Flavius Petro* was

a

* Galba, Otho, *and* Vitellius, *who each of them took Arms againſt the Emperor in Poſſeſſion, but with this Difference; Galba acted openly, and was invited to it by the repeated Importunities of the People, who had long ſuffer'd the extravagant Oppreſſions of* Nero; *but he neither betray'd* Nero, *nor put him to Death.* Otho, *without Provocation, perfidiouſly conſpir'd againſt* Galba, *and murder'd him baſely; and* Vitellius *revolted firſt againſt* Galba, *and afterwards march'd againſt* Otho, *who when his Forces had receiv'd a Defeat, ſtabb'd himſelf.* Veſpaſian *alſo obtain'd the Empire by taking Arms againſt* Vitellius, *and a Party of his Troops put him to Death.*

a Citizen of * *Reate*, and in the Civil War of *Pompey*, being a Centurion or an † *Evocatus*, fled out of the Battel of *Pharſalia* and retir'd to his own Houſe; and having afterwards obtain'd a Pardon and his Diſcharge, became a Broker at the Publick Sales. His Son, whoſe *Cognomen* was *Sabinus*, having no Skill in Military Affairs, (tho' ſome ſay he was a || *Primipilaris*, and others, that being a Head-Leader of a Legion, he was releas'd from Service becauſe of his ill Health) was a Collector of the Fortieth Penny in *Aſia*; and there were Images erected to him with this Inſcription, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ, *TO THE HONEST PUBLICAN*. He afterwards follow'd Uſury among the *Helvetii*, where he dy'd, leaving behind him his Wife *Veſpaſia Polla*, and two Children by her; of which the elder, *Sabinus*, was advanc'd to the Prefecture of the City, and *Veſpaſian*, the younger, even to the Empire. *Polla* was born of an honourable Family at *Nurſia*, and had for her Father *Veſpaſius Pollio*, thrice Military Tribune, and Prefect of the Camp, and her Brother was a Senator of Pretorian Dignity. And at this Day, ſix Miles from *Nurſia* in the Road to *Spoletum*, upon the Top of a Mountain, there is a Place call'd *Veſpaſia's*, in which are a great many Monuments of the *Veſpaſii*, an evident Token of the Splendor and Antiquity of the Houſe. I deny not but ſome have pretended, that *Petro*'s Father was born beyond the *Po*, and let to hire the labouring People who us'd to come once a Year among the *Sabines* from *Umbria* to cultivate the Lands, and that marrying a Wife at *Reate*, he ſettled there. But I find no Footſteps of this, tho' I have enquir'd into it with the utmoſt Curioſity.

2. *Veſpa-*

* *A Town of the* Sabines, *now* Rieti.

† *A Veteran Soldier, who had ſerv'd out the legal Time, and liſted himſelf again at the Conſuls Requeſt, upon ſome great Occaſion. The* Evocati *were thought as honourable as the* Centurions.

|| *See the Note* p. 283.

2. *Vespasian* was born in the Country of the *Sabines* beyond *Reate*, in a small Village call'd *Phalacrine*, on the ⁂ fifteenth of the Kalends of *December*, in the Evening, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* being Consuls, five Years before *Augustus* dy'd; and was educated under his Paternal Grandmother *Tertulla*, in a Farm in the Territory of × *Cosa*. Wherefore, when he was Emperor, he us'd often to frequent the Place of his Infancy, preserving the House just as it was, without Alteration, that his ‖ Eyes might not be depriv'd of any Objects they had been accustom'd to see. And he had such a Love for his Grandmother's Memory, that upon Solemn and Festival Days he always drank out of a little Silver-Cup which had been hers. Having put on the Virile Gown, he declin'd for a long time the †† *Latus Clavus*, tho' his Brother had receiv'd it before him; nor cou'd he after all be prevail'd on to ask it, by any one beside his Mother, who forc'd him into it at last rather by Rallery than by Authority and Intreaties, calling him in Ridicule his Brother's ⊣ Usher. He serv'd in the Post of a Military Tribune in *Thrace*; and when he was Questor, receiv'd by Lot the Provinces of *Crete* and *Cyrene*. And standing for the Ædileship, and afterwards for the Preture, he obtain'd the first with Difficulty, and not till he had suffer'd a Repulse, and even then he was only the sixth Ædile; but the Pretorship he carry'd triumphantly the first time he was Candidate: And having a Prejudice against the Senate, that he might oblige * *Caius* all manner of Ways, he † mov'd to have extraordinary

⁂ November *the* 16*th*.

× *A* Tuscan *City*.

‖ *Lat.* Ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret; *a stiff, unnatural Manner of Expression.*

†† *The Badge of a Senator, and one of Senatorian Dignity.*

⊣ Anteambulo.

* *The Emperor* Caligula.

† *Out of Spite to the Senate, who, he knew, were against it.*

traordinary Games celebrated for his X *German* Victory; and that it might be added to the Punishment of the || Conſpirators, that their Bodies ſhou'd be caſt forth without Burial. He return'd him Thanks alſo in a full Houſe, for having done him the Honour to invite him to Supper.

3. About this Time he marry'd *Flavia Domitilla*, formerly a *Latin* and Slave to *Statilius Capella*, a *Roman* Knight of *Sabrata* in *Africk*, but ſhe was afterwards pronounc'd Freeborn and a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Recoveries; her Father *Flavius Liberalis* of *Ferentum* undertaking to create her ſuch, tho' he was only Scribe to the Queſtor. His Children by her were *Titus*, *Domitian* and *Domitilla*. He ſurviv'd his Wife and his Daughter, loſing them both while he was a private Man. After his Wife's Death, he receiv'd into his Bed again his beloved Concubine *Cænis*, *Antonia*'s Freed-Woman and *Amanuenſis*; and when he was Emperor, he treated her almoſt as his lawful Wife.

4. In *Claudius*'s Reign he was ſent Lieutenant of a Legion into *Germany*, by the Intereſt of *Narciſſus*, and being remov'd thence into *Britain*, he fought the Enemy thrice, and partly under the Command of *Aulus Plautius* a Conſular Lieutenant, and partly under *Claudius* himſelf, he reduc'd two powerful Nations, above twenty Towns, and the Iſland †† *Vectis* which lies by *Britain*. For this he receiv'd the Triumphal Ornaments, and in a ſhort time a double Prieſthood; and, except his holding the Conſulate for the two laſt Months of the Year, the reſt of the Time to his Proconſulate he paſs'd in Retirement and Leaſure, being afraid of *Agrippina*, who then bore a wonderful Sway with her Son, and mortally hated

X *His Mock-Expedition in* Germany, *p.* 280.

|| *Againſt* Caligula; *they were* Lepidus *and* Gætulicus, *p.* 214.

†† *The Iſle of* Wight.

hated all the Friends of dead *Narciſſus*. Obtaining after this the Province of *Africa* by Lot, he govern'd with great Integrity, and was treated with extraordinary Veneration and Honour, only in a Sedition once at *Adrumetum*, the Rabble pelted him with Turnips. It is certain he did not return the richer; for his Credit was ſo impair'd, that he was oblig'd to mortgage all his Lands to his Brother, and was forc'd to deſcend ſo low, as to become a Dealer in Horſes and Mules to ſupport his Quality, for which he was commonly call'd the * *Muletter*. He is ſaid to have been convicted alſo of having ſqueez'd two hundred † Seſterces out of a young Man, for whom he procur'd the *Latus Clavus* againſt his †† Father's Conſent, upon which account he receiv'd a ſevere Reprimand. Attending *Nero* in his Progreſs to *Achaia*, he wou'd generally get away when he was ſinging, or, if he ſtaid, fall aſleep, by which he provok'd him to the laſt Degree; and being forbidden not only the Emperor's Private Rooms, but alſo the Publick Salutation, he withdrew to a ſmall City which lay out of the Road, where he kept conceal'd in Fear of his Life, till he was offer'd the Command of a Province with an Army. An antient and conſtant Opinion had ſpread it ſelf thro' all the Eaſt, that the Fates had decreed ‡ *ſome coming out of* Judæa *ſhou'd at that Time enjoy the Empire*. This Prophecy, which was meant of the *Roman* Emperor, as the Event afterwards declar'd, the *Jews* applying to themſelves, made a Rebellion, and having ſlain the Governor, put to Flight alſo the Conſular Lieutenant

* *Or Jockey; becauſe he either let out Horſes and Mules for Hire, or bought them and ſold them again to Advantage.*

† Seſtertia, 8750 *Livres.*

†† *The young Man's Father, who was afraid, 'tis likely, his Son's Vanity and Ambition wou'd prove his Ruine.*

‡ *See the Note* p. 141.

tenant of *Syria* who came to his Assistance, and took the Eagle. To suppress this Insurrection, a more numerous Army being needful, and a General intrepid and active, and yet one who might safely be entrusted with so important a Command, the Choice fell readily upon him, as being of known Experience and Industry, and no way to be fear'd because of the Meanness of his Family and Name. His Forces therefore being augmented with two Legions, eight Wings and ten Cohorts, and his eldest Son made one of his Lieutenants, as soon as he enter'd the Province, he drew the Eyes of the neighbouring Regions upon him; for he immediately reform'd the Discipline of the Camp, and fought with so much Daring and Bravery in one or two Engagements, that he receiv'd a Blow upon his Knee with a Stone in storming a Castle, and had several Arrows shot into his Target.

5. After *Nero* and *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius* disputing the Sovereignty between them, he began to form some Hopes of the Empire, which had been already excited in him by these Omens. In the Suburbane Seat of the *Flavii*, an antient Oak, which was consecrated to *Mars*, thrice successively upon *Vespasia*'s Delivery, put forth a Sett of new Branches or Shoots on a sudden; which very plainly express'd the future Fate of each of the Children. For the first Branch was slender and wither'd quickly; accordingly the Girl, who was then born, did not live above a Year. The second was very strong, and of a great Length, which portended an extraordinary Felicity: But the third was like a full-grown Tree. Wherefore they say, *Sabinus* the Father, being confirm'd in it by the Haruspex, told his Mother, *that she had a Cæsar born for a Grandson*; at which she fell a laughing heartily, in admiration *that while* * *she was yet in her Senses, her Son shou'd fall a raving*. And afterwards take

* *Because she was in the Decay of Old Age, and her Son in the Vigor of Youth.*

when he was Ædile, *Caius Cæſar* thinking he did not take care to keep the Streets of the City well ſwept, order'd the Soldiers to fill the Boſom of his Robe with Dirt; nor were ſome wanting to interpret it, that the Republick being trampled under foot, and abandon'd by ſome Civil Diſſention, ſhou'd one Time caſt it ſelf upon his Protection, and fall as it were into his Boſom. As he was at Dinner once, a ſtrange Dog brought a Man's † Hand out of the Street in his Mouth, and dropp'd it under the Table; and when he was at Supper, a ✕ Plough-Ox, throwing off his Yoke, broke into the Room, and the Servants all running away, as if he had been tir'd on a ſudden, he lay down and ſubmitted his Neck at his Feet. A Cypreſs-Tree, in a Field belonging to his Anceſtors, being torne up by the Roots and thrown all along without any Tempeſt, was the next Day more verdent and flouriſhing, and more firmly rooted than ever. In *Achaia* he dream'd, that the Felicity of him and his Family ſhou'd commence as ſoon as *Nero* loſt one of his Teeth; and the next Day, as he was going into the Court, he met a Surgeon who ſhew'd him a Tooth of *Nero*'s which he had juſt drawn. In *Judæa*, conſulting the Oracle of the God of †† *Carmel*, it was told him, That whatever he was revolving

† *This refers, perhaps, to a Military Enſign of the* Romans *which had a Hand on the Top; and ſo may ſignify the Army's making him their Sovereign Leader, and conſequently Emperor.*

✕ *The Words* Bos Arator, *perhaps point at this Conſtruction of the Omen; that the Earth, which the Ox was employ'd in Plowing, ſhou'd become ſubject to his Command.*

†† *A Mountain in* Judæa *famous for the Diſpute between* Elijah *and the Prophets of* Baal, 1 Kings, 18. Elijah *is alſo ſaid to have dwelt there, and kept one of the Schools of the Prophets; and to this Tradition* Suetonius *ſeems to allude, and therefore I have tranſlated* Carmeli Dei, *not* The God *Carmel, but,* The God of *Carmel.*

revolving in his Thoughts, how great soever it were, shou'd come to pass: And *Josephus*, one of the noble Captives, being put in Bonds by him, confidently declar'd, he shou'd shortly be releas'd by the same Person, but not till he was Emperor. Some Presages were reported also to have happen'd in the City; as that *Nero* in his latter Days was admonish'd in his Sleep to * drive the † Chariot of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* from the Temple to *Vespasian*'s House, and from thence to the *Circus*: And not long after, as *Galba* was entring the Election-Court, when he was chosen Consul the second Time, the Statue of *Julius Cæsar* turn'd about of its own Accord to the || East; and at the Battle of ** *Bebriacum*, before the Fight began, two Eagles engag'd in open View, and one of them being vanquish'd, a third came in from the rising Sun and beat away the Victor.

6. Yet he attempted Nothing, tho' his Friends were ready and urg'd him on, till he was invited to it by some Persons both unknown and absent, who were accidentally engag'd in his Favour. Two thousand Men were drawn out of the three Legions of the Army in *Mœsia* and sent to *Otho*'s Assistance, and hearing upon their March, that he was defeated, and had laid violent Hands upon himself, advanc'd however as far as *Aquileia*, as if they had given no Credit to the Report: And there taking Advantage of the Opportunity, and of their being without Comptrol, they

* *This was the same Thing as to invest* Vespasian *with the Empire, it belonging to the Emperor to lead up the* Circensian *Games.*

† Thensa.

|| *Where* Vespasian *commanded, and from whence he began his March against* Vitellius. *This Circumstance of* Julius Cæsar's *Statue intimated* Vespasian's *obtaining the Supreme Command, as* Julius *had done before.*

** *Fought between* Otho *and* Vitellius, *who are represented by the two Eagles, and* Vespasian *by the third.*

they committed all Kind of Rapine and Devaſtation; and being afraid they ſhou'd be call'd to Account for it and puniſh'd at their Return, they came into a Reſolution to elect and conſtitute an Emperor, *for they were in no Point inferiour*, they ſaid, *to the* Spaniſh *Army, which had made* Galba *Emperor, or to the Prætorian Cohorts who advanc'd* Otho, *or the* German *Troops who created* Vitellius. The Conſular Lieutenants, as many as were then in Commiſſion, being propos'd by Name, and one rejecting one, and another another, for ſeveral Reaſons, ſome of the third Legion, which had been remov'd from *Syria* to *Meſia*, at the End of *Nero*'s Reign, broke out into the Praiſes of *Veſpaſian*; upon which they agreed to him unanimouſly, and immediately inſcrib'd his Name in all their Banners: But the Thing was kept * private for the preſent, till the Forces were by Degrees brought into Order, and recover'd to a Senſe of their Duty. When the Affair was made known, *Tiberius Alexander*, the Prefect of *Ægypt*, firſt caus'd the Legions to ſwear to *Veſpaſian*, upon the Kalends of *July*, which Day was afterwards obſerv'd as the firſt of his Reign; and then the Army in *Judea* took an Oath to him in his Preſence, the fifth of the Ides of the ſame Month. What animated him very much in his Undertaking, was, a Copy of a Letter which made a great Noiſe, whether it were real or counterfeited, written to him by *Otho* at his Death, charging him in the moſt paſſionate Manner to revenge him, and entreating him to relieve the Common-Wealth; and a Rumor which was blaz'd about, that *Vitellius* the Conqueror deſign'd to change the Winter-Quarters of the Legions, and remove the † *German* Army to the Eaſt where they wou'd live more indulgently and at Eaſe.

Beſide,

* *This was tranſacted therefore among the principal Commanders of theſe Troops, or ſome few others alſo.*

† *And ſo tranſlate the Troops in the Eaſt, Part of which* Veſpaſian *commanded, into* Germany.

Beſide, among the Governors of the Provinces, *Licinius Mucianus*, and among the Kings, *Vologeſus* the *Parthian*; the one, laying aſide the Reſentment he had borne to him not obſcurely till now, promis'd him the Army in *Syria*; and the other, Twenty thouſand Archers to aſſiſt him.

7. A Civil War therefore being begun, and the Leaders and the Forces advancing before into *Italy*, he croſs'd over to *Alexandria* to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes of *Ægypt*; and cauſing all Company to be remov'd, he enter'd the Temple of *Serapis* alone, to take an Auſpice concerning the Eſtabliſhment of his Empire; and having with ſeveral Sacrifices propitiated the God, at laſt as he was * turning round, † *Baſilides* ſeem'd to offer him Vervain and Crowns, and conſecrated Bread, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, tho' 'twas certain no Body had let him into the Temple, and he had not been able to attend there for a long Time, by reaſon of a Diſtemper upon his Nerves, and was now alſo at a conſiderable Diſtance. Immediately he receiv'd Letters, that *Vitellius*'s Troops were defeated at *Cremona*, and himſelf murder'd in the City. An Authority, and a certain Majeſty and Awe were wanting in him, as being created a Prince unexpectedly and without Preparation. But theſe were ſoon obtain'd; for an ordinary Man who was blind, and another who had a Weakneſs in one of his Legs, preſented themſelves both together before him as he was ſitting upon his Tribunal, beſeeching him to adminiſter that Cure to them, which *Serapis* in a Dream had ſhewn them he was able to beſtow, aſſuring them he ſhou'd give Sight to the one, if he wou'd ſpit upon his Eyes, and reſtore the Leg of the other, if he wou'd vouchſafe to touch it with his Heel. But being ſcarcely able to believe he ſhou'd have any manner of Succeſs in the Attempt, and conſequently not daring to put it

* *A ſolemn Rite of Adoration.*

† *The Prieſt of* Serapis.

it to the Trial, upon the Importunities of his Friends at laſt he made the Eſſay upon each in a Publick Aſſembly; nor did the Event fail him. At the ſame Time alſo at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, by the Direction of ſome Prophetick Perſons, they dug up, in a conſecrated Place, Veſſels of antique Work, the Image upon which was very like *Veſpaſian*.

8. Thus and with ſo great a Fame he return'd to the City, and celebrated a Triumph over the *Jews*, and added eight Conſulſhips to his firſt. He alſo undertook the Cenſorſhip, and thro' the whole Courſe of his Reign had nothing more at Heart than in the firſt Place to eſtabliſh the Republick, which was almoſt ſubverted and fallen, and then to improve and adorn it. The Soldiers partly preſuming upon their † Succeſs, and partly out of Madneſs at their Diſgrace, had proceeded to the utmoſt Licentiouſneſs and Inſolence; the Provinces alſo and free Cities, and even ſome Kingdoms were beginning to mutiny. Wherefore he broke moſt of *Vitellius*'s Men and puniſh'd them, and was ſo far from ſhewing the Troops which had a Share in the Victory any extraordinary Favours, that he did not allow them their legal Rewards till after a long Delay. And not to loſe any Occaſion of reforming the Diſſoluteneſs of Diſcipline; a young Gentleman coming to pay him Thanks for the Grant of a Preſecture, and ſmelling ſtrong of Perfumes, he gave him a diſdainful Nod, and reprimanded him with this ſmart Expreſſion, *I had rather thou had'ſt ſtunk of Garlick*, and revok'd the Grant. The Marines who travel on foot by Turns from *Oſtia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*, petitioning *to have an Allowance appointed them to buy Shoes*, as if it were a ſmall Thing to ſend them

† Veſpaſian's *own Troops, who had routed* Vitellius's *Theſe were inſolent upon the Merit of the Victory, and* Vitellius's *Soldiers, who were now ſubmitted to* Veſpaſian, *acted any Outrage and Miſchief they cou'd, in Revenge of their late Defeat.*

away without an Answer, he order'd they shou'd run without Shoes for the future, which they continue to do ever since. *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium* and *Samos* he disfranchis'd; as *Thrace* also, *Cilicia* and *Comagene*, which had been to that Time under a Kingly Government, and reduc'd them into the Form of Provinces. He increas'd the Number of Legions in *Cappadocia*, because of the continual Incursions of the Barbarians, and plac'd a Consular Governor there instead of a *Roman* Knight. The City being defac'd by Fires and ruinous Buildings, if the Owners neglected to do it, he allow'd any who pleas'd, to take Possession of the void Ground and build upon it: And going to repair the Capitol, he began to move the Rubbish first with his own Hands, and carry'd off several Baskets of it upon his Shoulders. He undertook to restore the Three thousand † Plates of Brass, which had perish'd in the Burning, searching after Copies in all Parts; these Records were the most noble and antient Instrument of the Empire, in which were contain'd the Decrees of the Senate almost from the Foundation of the City; and the Judgments of the People concerning Alliances and Leagues, and Privileges granted to any.

9. He also erected several new Works, as the Temple of Peace next the *Forum*, and that of *Claudius* upon Mount *Celius*, which had been begun indeed by *Agrippina*, but was almost entirely demolish'd by *Nero*; and built an Amphitheatre also in the Middle of the City, as he understood *Augustus* had design'd to have done. In the highest Orders, which were exhausted by frequent Murders, and corrupted by the Remissness of former Years, he made a Reform; and fill'd up the Senate and the Body of the Knights at a Review, degrading the most Unworthy, and chusing in the most Honourable Persons in *Italy* and the Provinces. And that it might appear the Two Orders did not differ so much in Liberty as in Dignity, he ordain'd

† *See p.* 17, 142.

ordain'd thus upon a Quarrel between a Senator and a Knight, *Abusive Language ought not to be given to a Senator; but it was lawful and right to return it to him, if he was the Aggressor.*

10. Law-Suits were extravagantly multiply'd in all Parts, old Processes being still depending, because of the frequent Interruption of Justice, and new ones arising from the Confusion of the Times. He elected therefore a Number of Persons by Lot, to decide concerning the Restoring of Things taken in War, and extraordinarily also to direct and bring into a short Compass the Judgments of the *Centum Viri*, which were so tedious, that the Life of a Client seem'd scarcely sufficient to attend the Issue.

11. Lust and Luxury, because there was no Restraint, being grown to a wonderful Height, he procur'd a Decree of the Senate, that any Woman who had to do with the Slave of another Person, shou'd become a Slave her self; and that no Usurer should be able to sue a Son for Money lent him to be paid after his Father's Death.

12. In other Things, from the Beginning of his Reign to the End of it, he was Gentle and Clement. He never made a Secret of his former Meanness, but us'd to mention it frequently, and boast of it: and when some undertook to deduce the Original of the *Flavian* Family from the Founder of *Reate* and the Companion of *Hercules*, whose Monument is to be seen in the *Salarian Way*, he laugh'd at them very heartily. He was so little fond of outward Shew and Decoration, that upon the Day of his Triumph, being tir'd with the Slowness and Length of the Pomp, he cou'd not forbear crying out, *He was justly punish'd, who had been so weak in his Old Age as to seek for a Triumph, as if it were either due to his* * *Ancestors, or*

* *He seems in this to refer to the Meanness of his Family, who were not noble enough to receive so high an Honour, and for the same Reason he cou'd not have expected he shou'd ever arrive at it himself.*

had ever been expected by himself. Nor did he till very late assume either the Tribunitial Power, or the Appellation of *FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*. And the Custom of Examining and Searching Persons who came to make their Salutations to him, he had laid aside even while the Civil War was on foot.

13 The Freedoms of his Friends, the Reflections of the Pleaders, and unmanner'd Flouts of the Philosophers, he took very patiently. *Licinius Mucianus*, who was scandalously Unchaste, but presuming upon his Merits, behav'd himself to him very disrespectfully, he only reprov'd in private, and even then when he was complaining of him to a Friend, he added, *Yet I am but a Man.* *Salvius Liberalis*, in his Defence of a certain rich Man, having the Boldness to say, *What is it to* Cæsar, *if* Hipparchus *is worth a hundred Million of Sesterces?* he commended him for it. *Demetrius* the Cynick meeting him upon the Road, after he had been condemn'd to Exile, and neither vouchsafing to rise up to him nor salute him, and even snarling at him with some foul-mouth'd Language, he thought it enough to call him * *Dog*.

14. Provocations and Injuries he never kept in Mind, or reveng'd. He marry'd the Daughter of his Enemy *Vitellius* very splendidly, giving her a Dowry and an Equipage. Being forbidden the Court under *Nero*, and asking his Friends in a great Consternation what he should do, and whither he shou'd go, one of the Emperor's Introductors thrust him out, and bid him go to † *Marbonia*. When this Man came to beg his Pardon, his Resentment rose no higher than to return his own Words upon him. For he was so far from being led to cut off any one out of Suspicion or Fear, that his Friends advising him to

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* *The Name of the Sect, who were so called from* Κύων, κυνὸς, *a Dog.*

† *A made Word from* Morbus, *a Disease; it signifies the same as to bid him go hang himself.*

to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, becauſe he was commonly thought to have an Imperial Nativity, he made him Conſul immediately, and was ſure, he ſaid, *Metius* wou'd never forget the Kindneſs.

15. It was ſeldom found that an innocent Perſon ſuffer'd, unleſs He was abſent and knew nothing of the Matter, or certainly contrary to his Intention, and he was deceiv'd in the Thing. *Helvidius Priſcus* being the only Man that ſaluted him at his Return from *Syria* by his private Name *Veſpaſian*, and who in his Pretorſhip had conſtantly paſs'd him by in all his Edicts without any Reſpect or Mention, he was not provok'd at him, till by the moſt inſolent and vile Reflections and Inſults he had almoſt levell'd him with the meaneſt of the People. And tho' he had condemn'd this Man to be baniſh'd firſt, and then put to Death, he thought it wou'd be a generous Action to ſave him, ſending after the Executioners to call them back, and had certainly preſerv'd him, if they had not told him a Lye, that he was executed before the Meſſengers arriv'd. He never rejoyc'd in any one's Suffering, and even ſhed Tears and ſigh'd for the juſt Puniſhment of the Guilty.

16. The only thing in which he might be deſervedly blam'd, was his Love of Money. For not being content to have reviv'd the Taxes which were omited under *Galba*, and to have added new ones and very heavy, and augmented the Tributes of the Provinces, and even doubled many of them; he alſo openly practis'd ſome Dealings which were ſhameful even in a Private Man, buying up ſeveral Things only to vend them again at a higher Rate. Nor did he ſcruple to ſell Honours to the Candidates, or Pardons to Perſons accus'd whether innocent or guilty. He is thought to have promoted the moſt rapacious of the Procurators to the higheſt Offices, on purpoſe that when they were grown rich, he might condemn them and ſeize their Effects; and it was a common Saying, that *he us'd them for Sponges*, laying them aſoak when they were dry, and when they were throughly wet

squeezing them. Some say, he was naturally covetous, and that he was told so roundly by an old Herdsman, who suing to have his Liberty given him *Gratis* upon his coming to the Empire, and being deny'd it, bawl'd out, *A Fox may change his Hair, but not his Manners.* Others think he was driven to these Extortions and Rapines by his Necessities, the Treasury and Stores being very low; for he declar'd, *Forty Millions of Sesterces were absolutely necessary to secure the State.* And this seems the more likely, because what he got by ill Means, he employ'd to the best Purposes.

17. Being very liberal to all Orders of Men, he made up the Estates of the Senators which were below the Legal Rate, allow'd * five hundred Sesterces a Year to poor Consular Men, and many Cities throughout the whole Empire which were damag'd by Earthquakes or Fire, he repair'd.

18. He was also a great Encourager of Learning and Arts, and was the first who settled a hundred † Sesterces annually upon the *Latin* and *Greek* Rhetoricians out of the Treasury. He kept in Pay the most eminent Poets and Artificers, and gave an extraordinary Congiary and a very handsome Reward to one who restor'd the × *Colossus*. A Mechanick offering to carry some large Pillars into the *Capitol* at a small Expence, he gratify'd him handsomly for his Proposal, but did not accept it, saying, *He must let the poor People live.*

19. In the Plays for the Dedication of *Marcellus*'s Theatre, which was open'd anew, he reviv'd the old Dialogues. To *Apollinaris* the Tragedian he gave four hundred †† Sesterces, to *Terpnus* and *Diodorus* the Harpers

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* 21875 *Livres.*

† Sestercia, 4375 *Livres.*

× *Which stood in the Court-Yard of* Nero's Golden Lodging.

†† Sesterces, 17500 *Livres.*

Harpers *; two hundred, and to ſome -+- one hundred, and forty to thoſe whom he gave the leaſt, beſide ſeveral Golden Crowns. He made frequent Entertainments, and generally in Form and very richly, that he might help the Victuallers. He gave New-Year's Gifts to the Men at the *Saturnalia*, and upon the Kalends of *March* to the Women; and yet even thus he cou'd not eſcape the Reproach of his former Avarice; for the *Alexandrians* always continu'd to call him *Cybioſactes*, the *Cognomen* of one of their Kings who was ſordidly covetous. And at his Funerals, *Favor* the Arch-Mimick repreſenting his Perſon, and imitating (as the Cuſtom is) his Words and Actions while alive, ask'd the Managers of the Solemnity aloud, *What the Charge of the Funeral and the Pomps wou'd amount to?* and they anſwering, *A* * *Hundred Millions of Seſterces*, he cry'd out, *If they wou'd give him but a Hundred* † *Seſterces, they might throw him into the* Tiber.

20 He was of a middle Stature, his Joints were compact and firm, and there was a certain Pain in his Countenance like that of a Man ſtraining to diſcharge: And hence a witty Perſon anſwer'd him merrily, when he deſir'd him *to ſay ſomething upon him ſelf*; *I will*, ſays he, *when you have done eaſing your ſelf*. He had a very happy State of Health; tho' all he did to ſecure it was, to have his Jaws and his Limbs rubb'd ſo many times in the Tennis-Court belonging to the Baths, and to faſt one Day in every Month.

21. His Method of Living was generally this: When he was Emperor he roſe early and ſate up late; and having read his Letters and all Papers of Buſineſs, he admitted his Friends, and while they

* 8750 *Livres*.
-+- 4375 *Livres*.
* 437500 *Livres*.
† Seſtercia, 4375 *Livres*.

were ſaluting him he put on his Shoes and dreſs'd himſelf. Having diſpatch'd whatever Buſineſs came before him, he ſpent ſome Time in Exerciſe, and then repos'd himſelf, one of his Concubines lying by him, for he had choſen ſeveral in the Room of *Canis* who was dead. After this he went to the Bath and the Banquet-Room, nor was he ever in a better Humour, or more gracious, than at thoſe Seaſons, which made his Servants readily catch at thoſe Opportunities to ask any Favours of him.

22. At Supper, and at all other Times alſo, he was very free, and wou'd do Buſineſs with a Joke; for he was ſatirical, and ſo foul and ſordid in his Expreſſions, that he wou'd not forbear downright Obſcenity. Yet there are ſome Turns of his ſtill preſerv'd which are pleaſant enough, and among them this: *Menſtrius Florus*, a Conſular Man, undertaking to inform him it was more proper to ſay *Plauſtra* than *Ploſtra*, the next Day he ſaluted him by the Name of *Flaurus*: And a certain Woman pretending to die for Love of him, and paying down Four hundred Seſterces for the Honour of his Embraces, his Steward ask'd him how he wou'd have the Summ enter'd in his Accounts, *So much to* Veſpaſian, ſays he, *for being believ'd.*

23. He wou'd alſo repeat *Greek* Verſes with a very lucky Alluſion; as concerning one who was very tall, and largely furniſh'd,

* Μακρὰ βιβὰς, πεδίοιο δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,

Huge Strides he ſtalks, and ſhakes a Length of Spear:

And eſpecially of *Carylus*, a Freedman, who being very rich, to prevent a Part of his Eſtate from falling to the † Treaſury, at his Death wou'd fain make himſelf

* Homer, Il. 7. *deſcribing* Ajax's *Spear.*

† *According to a Decree of* Nero's, p. 375.

himself pass for a Man free born, and change his Name to *Laches*;

Ὦ Λάχης, Λάχης, ὅταν ἀποθάνῃς,
Αὖθις ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰρήσει Κήρυλος.

O *Laches*, *Laches*, when thou dieſt, then
Thou'lt certainly be *Ceryhus* again.

But he chiefly affected to droll about his ſcandalous Ways of getting Money, that he might leſſen the Shame by a witty Saying, and paſs the whole into a Jeſt. One of his Favourite Servants begging a Stewardſhip for one as if it had been for his own Brother, he put him off, and ſending for the Candidate, and taking of him as much as he had agreed to give his Sollicitor, order'd him the Place immediately; and ſome Time after his Servant applying to him about it again, *You muſt provide your ſelf*, ſays he, *with another Brother; for this which you took to be yours, is mine.* Suſpecting that his Muletteer once upon a Journey got down to ſhoe the Mules, only to make a Stop that he might give a certain Client an Opportunity to ſpeak to the Emperor, he ask'd the Fellow * *how much he got by that Shoeing*, and bargain'd with him for a Share of the Gain. His Son *Titus* finding Fault with him, becauſe he had laid a Duty even upon Urine, he held the firſt Money which was brought in by this Tax to his Noſe, and ask'd him *whether the Smell offended him*; and upon his anſwering *No. Yet*, ſays he, *this came out of Urine.* Some Deputies being ſent to acquaint him, that a Statue as large as a *Coloſſus* was decreed to be publickly erected to him at a very great Expence, he deſir'd them to begin it immediately,

X *Theſe Verſes are, with a few Alterations, taken from* Menander.

* *How much the Man gave him for affording him that Opportunity to tell his Caſe to the Emperor.*

For, says he, shewing them the Hollow of his Hand, *here's a Basis ready*. And even in the Fear and extreme Danger of Death he cou'd not abstain from his †Jests. For when among other Prodigies the *Mausoleum* of the *Cæsars* flew open on a sudden, and a Blazing Star appear'd in the Heavens, he said, the first ✕ belong'd to *Junia Calvina* of the Family of *Augustus*, and the other to the King of the *Parthians*, because he had ‖ long Hair. And upon the first Fit of his Distemper, *I think*, says he, *I am going to be a* °*God*.

24. In his ninth Consulship he was seiz'd with some light Motions of an Indisposition in *Campania*, and returning to the City immediately, he went to the

† *Cutylian*

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† *Our Countryman Sir* Thomas More *was a memorable Instance of this Kind; but with this Disadvantage, that his Jests upon the Scaffold were trifling, and altogether unbecoming a Man of his Years and Quality and Learning, in so solemn an Hour; whereas those which* Suetonius *mentions of* Vespasian's, *are not low and trivial Jokes, as Sir* Thomas Moor's *were, but a just Disregard of the Superstition of the People, by which they wou'd have persuaded him those Omens, (as they thought them) were pointed at him; whereas* Vespasian, *instead of being terrified at them, pleasantly transfers them to another; and tho' his Expression at the Beginning of his Illness, is sporting, yet it is a well-grounded and strong Satire upon the extravagant Absurdity of the* Romans *in making their Emperors Gods after their Death; and when he found himself expiring, he was serious and shew'd in his last Words a great and manly Mind. See the Note, p.* 154.

✕ *The* Mausoleum *being built by* Augustus, *see p.* 159.

‖ *Because a Blazing Star seems to have a long Train of Hair issuing from it, the Word* Comet *being deriv'd from* Coma, Hair; *and the* Parthian *King, according to the Custom of Barbarian Nations (see p.* 248.) *wearing the Hair of his Head and Beard at Length,* Vespasian *facetiously applies the Prognostick to him.*

° i. e. *To die, alluding to the* Apotheosis.

† *Cutyliæ* Waters and the Country of *Reate*, where he us'd to paſs the Summer every Year: Here tho' his Illneſs increas'd upon him, and he had corrupted his Inteſtines by the frequent Uſe of cold Water, he perform'd the Imperial Offices as uſually, and even gave Audience to Ambaſſadors as he lay in his Bed; but a ſudden Looſeneſs throwing him into fainting Fits, *An Emperor*, ſays he, *ought to die ſtanding*; and raiſing himſelf upon his Feet, he expir'd in the Arms of thoſe who ſupported him, the ninth of the Kalends of *July*, aged ſixty-nine Years, ſeven Months and ſeven Days.

25. It is univerſally agreed, that he was always ſo certain concerning his own Nativity and his Childrens, that after ſeveral Conſpiracies againſt him, he dar'd to affirm to the Senate, *Either his Sons won'd ſucceed him, or no Man.* It is ſaid alſo, that he ſaw in his Sleep a †† Balance hung in the Middle of the Porch of the Palace exactly pois'd, with *Claudius* and *Nero* ſtanding in one Scale, and himſelf and his Sons in the other. And the Event was agreeable; for they reign'd the ſame ⁂ Number of Years, and the ſame Space of Time between them on either ſide.

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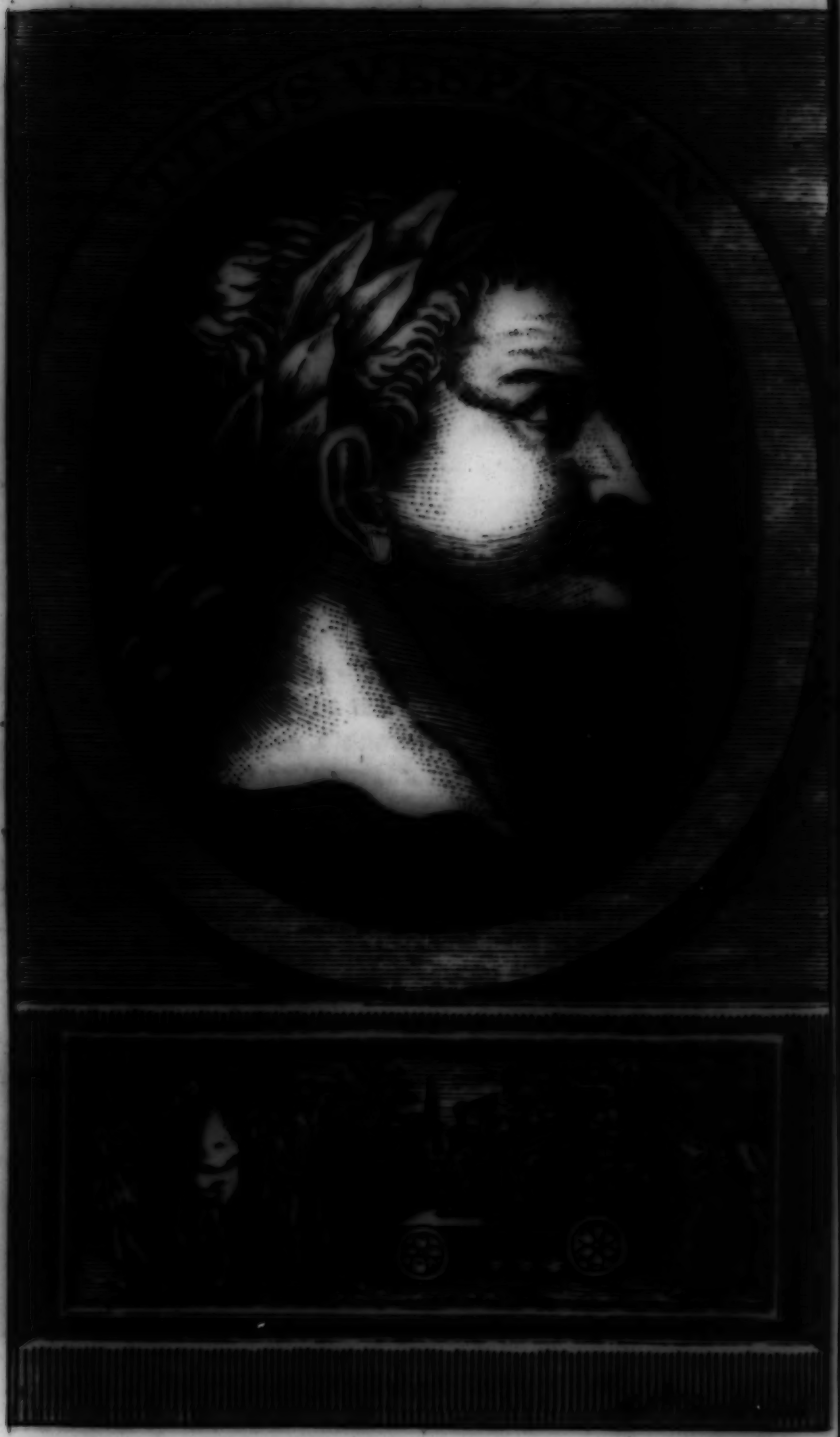
† *Now* Lago di Contigliano.

†† *Thus* Jupiter *weighs the* Trojans *and the* Greeks *in* Homer, *and* Turnus *and* Æneas *in* Virgil.

⁂ *Twenty-eight; for* Claudius *and* Nero *reign'd each of them fourteen. The Time of* Veſpaſian's *Reign is differently reported; but his Son* Titus *reigning two Years, and* Domitian *fifteen, the Remainder of the Summ muſt be ſupply'd from his.*

THE



p.467.

THE LIFE OF *Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus Auguſtus.*

TITUS, who had the ſame Cognomen with his Father, was the Delight of human Kind: For ſuch was either the Sweetneſs of his Nature, or his ſtilful Addreſs, or the Felicity of his Fortune, that he attracted the Love of all Men; and, which was the moſt difficult Thing in the World, after his coming to the Empire: tho' while he was a private Man, and even in his Father's Reign, he did not want Hatred and Publick Reproach.

2. He was born the third of the Kalends of *January*, in a Year remarkable for * *Caius*'s Murder, at a mean Houſe near the † *Septizonium*, in a little blind Chamber,

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* Caligula.

† *A* Septizonium *is a large Building ſupported by ſeven Rows of Pillars. There was a ſurpriſing one of this Name erected by* Severus; *but as that was long after* Suetonius's *Time, ſome other muſt be meant here which was erected before; tho' it is ſtrange, that* Suetonius, *who is ſo particular in mentioning the Structures which were erected by the Emperors themſelves, or by others at their Inſtigation, ſhou'd take no Notice of this.*

C[illegible] is still standing and to be seen. He w[illegible] Conversation with *Britannicus*, and i[illegible] Games of Domitian, and by the f[illegible] Days, a Physiognomist who was brought by *Narcissus*, the Freedman of *Claudius*, to view *Britannicus*'s Countenance, and make a Judgment upon it, absolutely declar'd *Britannicus* shou'd never come to be Emperor, but that *Titus* who stood by him shou'd. They were so * intimate and united, that 'tis believ'd *Titus* who lay next him at Table, tasted of the Potion with which *Britannicus* was poyson'd, and was very ill with it a long Time. Of all which Circumstances he was so mindful afterwards, that he erected *Britannicus* a Golden Statue in the Palace, and dedicated to him another of Ivory on Horseback, which is still carry'd along in the *Circensian* Shews, and follow'd it himself in the Procession.

3. The Qualifications of his Body and Mind display'd themselves early while he was a Boy, and shone out with more and more Brightness thro' every Degree of his Age. He was handsome, and his Presence was no less than his Beauty. He was very strong, tho' he was not tall, and had a Belly something strutting. He had an extraordinary Memory, and a Genius capable both of the Arts of War and Peace. He understood the Exercise of Arms, and rode perfectly well; was a Master of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and us'd them readily either for Orations or Poems, and even *extempore*. Nor was he ignorant in Musick, for he sung and play'd gracefully and with Judgment. I have been inform'd by several, he wou'd take Notes surprisingly swift, vying

* Suetonius *seems to intimate there was such a fond Union between them, as to eat out of one Dish, and drink out of the same Cup; and that this was accidentally the Occasion of* Titus's *tasting the poysonous Draught, not that it was given him with Design.*

ing out of Sport with his *Amanuenſes* in imitating any one's Hand he ſaw, and ſaying, *He cou'd make the beſt Forger in the World.*

4. He ſerv'd a Military Tribune both in *Germany* and *Britain*, with great Induſtry and no leſs Modeſty and Fame, as appears by the Multitude of his Images and Inſcriptions in either Province. After this, he apply'd himſelf to the *Forum*, where he practis'd with Reputation, but was not very diligent. At the ſame Time he marry'd *Arricidia Tertulla*, whoſe Father was a *Roman* Knight, and had been Preſect of the Pretorian Cohorts; and, upon her Death, *Marcia Furnilla*, of an illuſtrious Family, whom after ſhe had borne him a Daughter, he divorc'd. Being then advanc'd from the Honour of the Queſtorſhip to the Command of a Legion, he reduc'd * *Tarichæa* and *Gamala*, two ſtrong Cities of *Judea*; and having his Horſe kill'd under him in one Engagement, he mounted upon another, whoſe Rider he had encounter'd and ſlain.

5. Being ſent afterwards to congratulate *Galba* upon his Acceſſion to the Empire, all Men as he paſs'd had their Eyes upon him, as if he were ſummon'd home in order to be † adopted. But underſtanding as he was upon the Road, that Things were in × Confuſion again, he turn'd back, and viſiting the Oracle of *Venus* at || *Paphus*, as he was conſulting it concerning his Voyage, he was confirm'd by it in his Hope of the Empire, †† the Means of which were ſoon put into

* *See* Joſephus, Bell. Jud. lib. III. & IV.

† *By* Galba.

× *By* Galba's *Murder.*

|| *A City of* Cyprus.

†† Cujus (n. ſpei de Imperio) brevi compos: *What* Suetonius *refers to here, is* Titus's *being ſaluted* IMPERATOR *(concerning which Word ſee the Note* p. 358.) *by the Soldiers; which was rather another Omen of Confirmation, than a direct Completion of the Oracle, or an Accompliſhment of his Hope.*

into his Power; For being left behind to finish the Conquest of *Judæa*, at the last Assault of *Jerusalem* he slew twelve of the Defendants with as many Arrows, and took the City upon his Daughter's Birth Day, and with such Joy and Transport of the Soldiers, that in their Congratulation they saluted him *IMPERATOR*; and afterwards, when he was leaving the Province, they detain'd him, beseeching him, and even using Threatnings, *That he wou'd either stay, or take them all along with him*: Whence arose a Suspicion, as if he had attempted to revolt from his Father, and claim the Empire of the East to himself; which Suspicion he increas'd, when going to *Alexandria*, he wore a Diadem at the Consecration of the Ox *Apis* at *Memphis*. This indeed was according to Custom, and the antient Rites of that Solemnity; yet there were not wanting some who construe'd it in a worse Sense. Wherefore hastening to *Italy*, he got to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Puteoli* in a common Ship of Burden, and thence making the utmost Speed to *Rome*, he arriv'd unexpectedly, and running to his Father, cry'd out, *Veni, Pater, veni*; *I am come, Father, I am come*; as it were blaming the Rashness of the Reports which had been rais'd about him.

6. Nor did he from this Time cease to act as a Partner and Guardian of the Empire. He triumph'd with his Father, and held the Censorship together, and was his Colleague in the Tribunitial Power, and in seven Consulates. And taking upon himself the Execution of almost all Affairs, writing Letters, drawing Edicts in his Father's Name, and rehearsing Orations in the Senate in the Questor's stead, he assum'd the Post of * *Prefectus Prætorii*, which was never till that Time sustain'd but by a *Roman* Knight. He acted also arrogantly and with Violence; for whenever he suspected any Man, he subor-

n'd

* *Captain of the Prætorian Bands.* *See* p. 317.

orn'd ſome in the Theatres and in the Camp to call out for having him puniſh'd, and executed him preſently. Among theſe, *Aulus Cæcina* a Conſular Man was invited to Supper, and was ſcarcely got out of the Room, when he commanded him to be ſtabb'd, the imminent Danger he was in, putting him upon it; for he found a Paper under *Cæcina*'s own Hand, containing the Particulars of a * Conſpiracy he had deſign'd to form among the Soldiers. By theſe Things, as he provided for his Security hereafter, he contracted ſo much Hatred for the preſent, that hardly any Man cou'd arrive at the Empire with ſo hated a Character, and ſuch univerſal Prejudice and Diſapprobation.

7. He lay under a Suſpicion of Luxury as well as Cruelty, becauſe he wou'd continue feaſting till Midnight with the moſt extravagant of his Companions; and no leſs of Luſt, on account of his Troops of Catamites and Eunuchs, and his prodigious Paſſion for Queen *Berenice*, to whom, it was ſaid, he made a Promiſe of Marriage. He was alſo ſuſpected of Rapaciouſneſs, becauſe it appear'd he us'd to traffick for his Father's Decrees, and make Money of them. In a Word, he was commonly eſteem'd and call'd another *Nero*. But this † Report turn'd to his Advantage, and was afterwards chang'd into the higheſt Praiſes; when there was found in him no one Vice, and on the contrary the moſt conſummate Virtues. He gave Entertainments rather pleaſing than profuſe; and choſe for his Friends ſuch Men, as ſucceeding Princes acquieſc'd in and chiefly employ'd, as moſt capable of doing Service to them and to the State.

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* Caſaubon *reads* Concio *inſtead of* Conjuratio; *and then it ſignifies a Speech he had drawn up to engage the Army in a Revolt.*

† *The Reader will here have in his Thoughts our famous* Henry V. *who ſhew'd as ſurpriſing a Reformation immediately upon his coming to the* Crown.

State. He immediately dismiss'd *Beronice* from the City, with the utmost Reluctance on both sides. Some of the most pleasing of his Catamites, tho' they danc'd so finely that they held the first Rank upon the Stage, he not only forbore to cherish with Indulgence, but even to be a Spectator of them in Publick. He never depriv'd any Citizen of his Property, abstaining, if ever Man did, from that which was another's; not so much as accepting the allow'd and usual Presents; and yet he was inferiour to none in Munificence. Having dedicated an Amphitheatre, and built with surprising Expedition some Baths just by it, he exhibited very rich and pompous Shews. He gave a Sea-Fight also in the Old *Naumachia*, a Combat of Gladiators, and a Chase of five thousand Wild Beasts of every Kind in one Day.

8. He was of so benevolent a Temper, that whereas according to the Institution of *Tiberius*, all the Emperors after him did not look upon the Grants of their Predecessors as valid, unless they were renew'd to the same Persons by themselves; he was the first Prince who confirm'd them at once in a single Edict, nor did he so much as suffer himself to be apply'd to for it. And whatever Requests were made to him by any, he fix'd it as his perpetual Custom, not to let any go away in Despair: And when his Domesticks told him, *He won'd be apt to promise more than he cou'd perform*; *No Man*, says he, *ought to depart sad from a Prince's Presence.* Calling to Mind once at Supper, that he had done Nothing for any one thro' the whole Day, he utter'd that memorable and praiseworthy Saying, *Amici, Diem perdidi! My Friends, I have lost a Day!* He treated the whole Body of the People in particular upon all Occasions with so much Courtesy and Condescension, that proclaiming a Gladiatory Combat, he declar'd, *He wou'd order it not to his own Liking, but to please the Spectators.* And indeed he fulfill'd his Words; for he deny'd them Nothing they ask'd, and even press'd them to ask whatever they wou'd. And declaring himself openly a Favoures

vourer of the * *Thracian* Combatants, he often diſputed it for them warmly with the People with his Voice and Geſtures, yet ſo as to preſerve the Dignity of his Rank and Perſon, and not to exceed the † Rules of Juſtice. And to neglect no manner of Popularity, he admitted the People into the Bath ſometimes as he was waſhing. There happen'd ſome unfortunate Accidents in his Reign; as, an Eruption of Mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania*, a Fire at *Rome* for three Days and as many Nights, and ſuch a Peſtilence as had ſcarcely been known before. Under ſo many Calamities and of ſuch a Nature, he ſhew'd not only the Concern of a Prince, but even the Affection of a Parent; ſometimes encouraging the People by his Edicts, and ſometimes relieving them as far as his Revenues wou'd allow. He choſe many by Lot from among the Conſular Men, to take Care to reſtore the Miſchief ſuſtain'd in *Campania*; and the Goods of thoſe who periſh'd by the Eruption, and had left no Heirs, he appointed to be apply'd to the Succour of the ſuffering Cities. By the Fire at *Rome*, he declar'd no Man was a Loſer but himſelf, giving up all the Ornaments of his Palaces to repair the Buildings and the Temples and placing ſeveral of the Equeſtrian Order to overſee the Work that it might be diſpatch'd with the greater Speed. For recovering the People's Health, and putting a Stop to the Sickneſs, he employ'd all Means of Help, Human and Divine, trying all Sorts of Sacrifices and Remedies. Among the Evils of the Times, the Delators and Suborn'd Evidence were, by a long Licentiouſneſs, become a principal. Theſe he order'd to be beaten daily in the *Forum* with Scourges and Clubs, and laſtly dragg'd thro' the Amphitheatre, and partly ſold for Slaves, and partly tranſported to ſome

* *Thoſe who fought after the* Thracian *Manner.*

† *The Emperor was Preſident of the Games, and awarded the Prize.*

ſome craggy Iſlands. And for ever to reſtrain any from preſuming to repeat thoſe Practices, he forbad, among other Things, the ſame Cauſe to be try'd by ſeveral Laws; and that after a certain Number of Years, there ſhou'd be an Enquiry into the Condition of any Perſon deceas'd.

9. He profeſs'd he accepted the High-Prieſthood on purpoſe to preſerve his Hands * unpolluted. And he kept his Word: For after this, he was neither the Author nor Acceſſary of any one's Death, tho' he did not want Provocations to Revenge; but he ſwore, *he wou'd ſooner periſh himſelf than deſtroy another.* Two Perſons of Patrician Rank being convicted of aſpiring to the Empire, he only admoniſh'd them to deſiſt, ſaying, *The* † *Princedom was diſpos'd of by Fate*; and promiſing, if they deſir'd any thing elſe, to beſtow it on them, and preſently diſpatch'd his Meſſengers to the Mother of one of them, who was at a conſiderable Diſtance, to put her out of Fear, and let her know her Son was ſafe. And he not only treated them very familiarly at Supper, but at a Shew of Gladiators the next Day plac'd them by him on purpoſe, and offer'd them the Weapons of the Combatants which were brought him to view them. It is ſaid alſo, that when he underſtood their Nativity, he affirm'd, *ſome great Danger threaten'd them both, and ſhou'd one time overtake them, but from another Hand.* And ſo it happen'd. His Brother, who was inceſſantly plotting againſt him, and almoſt openly courted the Soldiers to revolt, and was preparing to eſcape by Flight, he cou'd neither bear to put to Death, nor to remove him, nor even to leſſen his Honours:

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* *By Blood.*

† *Inſtead of revenging their Deſign with Death, he endeavours in a friendly Manner to convince them of the Vanity of the Attempt, aſſuring them, that unleſs the Fates had ordain'd they ſhou'd have the Empire, it wou'd be impoſſible for them to obtain it.*

Honours: But as from the first Day of his Reign he had continu'd to declare him his Partner and his Successor, he begg'd him sometimes in secret with Prayers and Tears, *That he wou'd at length have the same Affection for him.*

10. Amid these Things, he was abruptly snatch'd away by Death, more to the Loss of Mankind than his own. Having finish'd the Shews, at the Close of which he wept plentifully before the People, he went to the *Sabine* Country something dejected, because the Victim ran away as he was sacrificing, and it thunder'd in a serene Sky. And being seiz'd with a Fever at his first Baiting, he was carry'd the rest of the Way in a Litter, and is said to have put the Curtains back, and look'd up to Heaven, complaining bitterly, *his Life was taken from him very unjustly; for there was not any of his Actions he had to repent of, except only one.* What that was, he never discover'd himself, nor is it easy to surmise. Some imagine, he had in his Thoughts a former Freedom with his Brother's Wife: But *Domitia* swore solemnly, there had never been any thing of that Kind; and she wou'd not have deny'd it if there had, but wou'd have glory'd in it, as she was ready to do in all her Debaucheries.

11. He dy'd in the same *Villa* with his Father, upon the Ides of *September*, two Years, two Months, and twenty Days after his succeeding him, and in the forty-first Year of his Age. As soon as it was known, every one lamented as if it had been his own Domestick Sorrow; and the Senate, not waiting to be summon'd by an Edict, ran to the House, and keeping the Doors shut a while, and then throwing them open, heap'd such Thanks and Praises upon him now he was dead, as they had never given him when he was alive and present with them.

THE

P. 477.

THE LIFE OF *Titus Flavius Domitianus.*

DOMITIAN was born the * ninth of the Kalends of *November*, his Father being Conſul elect, and to enter upon his Office the Month following; in the ſixth Region of the City, and the *Pomegranate*-Street, in a Houſe which he afterwards converted into a Temple of the *Flavian* Family. While he was a Boy, and in the firſt Part of his Youth, he is ſaid to have liv'd in ſo much Want and Diſhonour, that he had not one Piece of Plate about him for Uſe. And it is certain *Cladius Pallio*, a Pretorian Man, againſt whom there is extant a Poem of *Nero*'s, entitled *Laſcia*, kept a Letter under his Hand, and ſometimes ſhew'd it, in which he promis'd him a Night's Proſtitution, when he pleas'd; nor were ſome wanting who affirm'd he was corrupted by his Succeſſor *Nerva*. In the War of *Vitellius*, he fled into the *Capitol* with his Uncle *Sabinus*, and Part of the Forces that were on

* October *the* 23*d.*

on the Spot; but the Enemy breaking in, and ſetting the Temple on Fire, he hid himſelf that Night with the Keeper of the Temple, and in the Morning diſguiſing himſelf in the Habit of a Prieſt of *Iſis*, got out among the Officers of that idle Superſtition, and, with only one Attendant, went croſs the *Tiber* to the Mother of his Fellow-Pupil, where he lay ſo cloſely conceal'd, that thoſe who purſu'd him by his Tracks cou'd not find him. After the * Victory he appear'd abroad, and being ſaluted CÆSAR, aſſum'd the Honour of the Pretorſhip of the City, with Conſular Power in Title, but the Juriſdiction he transferr'd to his next Collegue. Yet he exercis'd his Authority with ſuch Violence and Licentiouſneſs, that he clearly ſhew'd what he wou'd be hereafter. Not to mention every Particular; having been free with the Wives of ſeveral, he took to himſelf in Marriage *Domitia Longina*, who was marry'd to *Ælius Lamia*; and in one Day diſpos'd of above twenty Offices in the City and foreign Parts; upon which *Veſpaſian* often ſaid, *He wonder'd he did not ſend Him a Succeſſor.*

2. He undertook an Expedition into *Gaul* and both *Germanys*, without any Neceſſity and againſt the Advice of his Father's Friends, only that he might equal his Brother in Exploits and Fame. Being reprimanded for theſe Things, that he might the better underſtand his Age and Condition, his Father made him dwell at home with him, and whenever he and his Brother went abroad in their Curule Chair, he follow'd them in a Litter, and in their *Judaic* Triumph accompany'd them mounted upon a white Horſe. Of ſix Conſulſhips which he held, but one was † Ordinary, and that he receiv'd by the Ceſſion

* *Of his Father* Veſpaſian *over* Vitellius.

† *He was not choſen for Part of the Time in another's Room, but entred upon the Conſulſhip at the Beginning of the Year, and held it the whole Term. Such a Conſulſhip was term'd* Conſulatus Ordinarius.

ceſſion of his Brother, who reſign'd to him his Turn. He alſo put on a wonderful Face of Modeſty, and particularly employ'd himſelf in the Study of Poetry, (which he had never meddled with before, and afterwards deſpis'd and abandon'd,) and rehears'd in Publick. However, when *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians* demanded Succours againſt the *Alani*, and deſir'd one of *Veſpaſian*'s Sons might head them, he made all the Intereſt he cou'd to be ſent; and becauſe that Affair was ſoon compos'd, he attempted by Gifts and Promiſes to procure other Kings of the Eaſt to make the ſame Requeſt. Upon his Father's Death he was pauſing a long Time, whether he ſhou'd not give a * double Donative to the Soldiers, and never ſcrupled to affirm, *That he was left Partner in the Empire, but there was a Fraud committed in his Father's Teſtament.* Nor did he ceaſe from that Time to lay Snares for his Brother openly and in ſecret: And when he was taken ill, he commanded them to leave him for dead, before the Breath was out of his Body; and after his Death, beſtow'd no Honour upon him but that of Conſecration, and often aſpers'd him obliquely in his Orations and Edicts.

3. At the Beginning of his Reign, he us'd to be private for ſo long every Day, and do nothing but catch Flies, and pierce them thro' with a ſharp Style: And therefore, when one ask'd *Whether there was any Body in ſecret with the Emperor?* *Vibius Criſpus* anſwer'd merrily, *Non Muſca quidem*; *Not ſo much as a Fly.* His Wife *Domitia*, by whom he had a Son in his ſecond Conſulate, and whom the next Year he had ſaluted with the Style of *AUGUSTA*, being deeply in Love with *Paris* the Player, he divorc'd her; and then was ſo impatient of the Separation, that in a ſhort Time he took her again, as if it were in Compliance with

* *Double what his Brother gave, to draw the Soldiers from him.*

the Importunity of the People. In the Administration of the Empire, he was for a while very various, with an equal Mixture of Vices and Virtues, till his Virtues were at last all converted into Vices; and, as far as we may guess, beside the Bent of his Nature, he became rapacious out of Want, and cruel out of Fear.

4. He frequently exhibited magnificent and costly Shews; not in the Amphitheatre only, but also in the *Circus*; where besides the usual Chariot-Races with two Horses and four, he also gave a Battel between Horse and Foot, and a Sea-Fight in the Amphitheatre: For the Huntings of Wild Beasts, and the Gladiators Combats, he caus'd to be perform'd in the Night by Torches, and had not only Engagements of Men, but of Women also. And he was so constant at the * Questorian Games, which he reviv'd after they had been long intermitted, that he allow'd the People to demand two Pairs of Champions out of his own Number, which were brought on last of all in a Royal Livery. At every Shew of the Gladiators, a Dwarf-Boy clad in Scarlet with a Head monstrously little, stood at his Feet, whom he talk'd to very much, and sometimes about serious Business; for he was once heard to ask him, *Whether he knew why he design'd to make* Metius Rufus *Prefect of Egypt at the next Promotion?* He presented Naval Fights with almost whole Fleets, a huge Lake being form'd by the *Tiber*, and convenient Seats erected, from whence he beheld them even in the smartest Showers. He also ordain'd the Secular Games, making his Computation of the Time, not from the Year in which *Claudius* had held them last, but in which they had been formerly celebrated by *Augustus*. At these, upon the Day of the *Circensian* Sports, that a † hundred Courses might be the more easily perform'd,

* *Games set forth by the Questor.*

† *The usual Number was twenty-five. and they ran seven Times.*

perform'd, he reduc'd each from seven Turns to five. He also instituted Quinquennial Games to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with a threefold Exercise, *Musick*, Horse-Racing and Wrestling, and with a Number of Crowns somewhat greater than is now given: There was also a Contention in Prose in *Greek* and *Latin*, and beside those who * play'd the Harp and sung to it, others perform'd on that Instrument in a numerous Consort, and some singly without a Voice; and Virgins ran in the Race. He presided at the Solemnity in † Slippers, clad with a *Grecian* Gown of Purple, having a Golden Crown on his Head with the Effigies of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the Priest of *Jupiter* and the College of the || *Flavials* sitting by him in the same Habit, only they had his * Image also in their Crowns. Every Year he celebrated the × *Quinquatria* to *Minerva* in Mount *Albanus*, and instituted a College for her, from whence Persons were chosen by Lot for the †† several Offices; and exhibited Huntings of Wild Beasts and Stage-Plays, with Contests of Orators and Poets. He gave a Congiary to the People thrice of Three Hundred Sesterces, and a noble Banquet at the Shews while the Gladiators were fighting; and first of all introduc'd the Custom of eating at the Festival of the -|- Seven Hills, distributing large Baskets of Meats to the Senators and Knights, and smaller to the People: And the next Day he threw about all sorts of Toys, and because most part of them fell in the Seats of the Common

* *The* Latin *Words for these several Sorts of Performers*, Citharœdi, Chorocitharistæ, *and* Psilocitharistæ.

† Crepidatus.

|| *The Priests belonging to his own Family, the* Flavii.

* *To intimate his Divinity.*

× *A Festival held five Days after the Ides, for the Dedication of Minerva's Temple.*

†† *Of that College.*

-|- *Upon which the City was built.*

People, he order'd Five Hundred * Tickets to be thrown among those of the Knights and Senators.

5. Several noble Edifices which were consum'd by Fire, and among them the *Capitol*, which had been burnt again, he restor'd; but inscrib'd his own Name upon them all, making no mention of the Original Founder. He rais'd a new Fane in the *Capitol* to *Jupiter* the Keeper, and a *Forum* now call'd the *Forum of Nerva*; a Temple also to the *Flavian* Family, a † *Stadium*, an ‖ *Odeum*, and a †† *Naumachia*; with the Stone of which the Side-Walls of the greater *Circus*, that were ruin'd by Fire, were afterwards repair'd.

6. The Expeditions he made, were partly of Choice, and partly of Necessity. Of Choice, against the *Catti*; and of Necessity, one against the *Sarmatæ*, a Legion being cut to Pieces with the Lieutenant; and two against the *Daci*, one when *Appius Sabinus* a Consular Man was defeated and lost, and the other when *Cornelius Fuscus*, Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, with whom he had intrusted the Command of the War, was slain. After various Battels he triumph'd over the *Catti* and *Daci*; but for his Victory over the *Sarmatæ*, he only offer'd a Laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. The Civil War which was set on foot by *L. Antonius*, President of the *Upper Germany*, he finish'd without going thither in Person, by a surprising Piece of good Fortune; for in the very Moment of the Battel, the *Rhine* overflowed on a sudden, and hinder'd the Forces of the Barbarians from crossing over to *Antonius* and joining him. Of this Victory he was appris'd by Presages before the Messengers arriv'd. For upon the Day of the Fight, an Eagle

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* *For several Trifles and small Presents.*

† *A Place for Foot-Races.*

‖ *A Place where the Musicians perform'd, and play'd for the Prize, and Poets made their Rehearsals.*

†† *For exhibiting Sea-Fights.*

Eagle of an extraordinary Size having embrac'd his Statue at *Rome* with its Wings, made a very joyful Noise; and presently after it was so hotly reported that *Antonius* was kill'd, that a great many were positive they saw his Head brought into the City.

7. He made several Innovations also in Things of common Use. He suppress'd the Publick * *Sportulæ*, and reviv'd the Custom of formal Suppers. He added two Factions at the *Circensian* Games, the Golden and the Purple, to the four old ones; and forbad the Players to act in Publick, but allowing them to exercise their Art in private Houses. He prohibited the Castration of Males, and moderated the Price of the Eunuchs that remain'd in the Merchants Hands. Upon a great Plenty of Wine, and a Scarcity of Corn, imagining that it proceeded from an extravagant Cultivation of the Vineyards and a Neglect of Tillage, he made an Edict that no one should plant new Vines in *Italy*, and that in the Provinces they shou'd cut them down, or at most not leave above half the Number standing: But he did not go thro' with the † Execution of his Order. He shar'd some of the chief Offices among the Freemen and the *Roman* Knights. He forbad the Legions to be plac'd ✕ two together in one Camp, and that more than a thousand Sesterces shou'd be ‖ deposited at the Ensign by any Soldier, because *Antonius* seem'd to have depended very much upon that Money, when he was concerting his Revolt. And from three Pieces of Gold every fourth Month, he augmented the Soldiers Pay to four.

* *Appointed by* Nero *instead of the Suppers*, p. 360.

† *The Reason of which see* p. 495.

✕ *To prevent their joining readily in a Revolt.*

‖ *When the Soldiers receiv'd a Donative, Half of it* (*says* Vigetius) *was deposited at the Ensigns, to be a Supply for them upon Occasion, and to preserve them from Deserting.*

8. He administer'd Justice with Diligence and Industry. He frequently sate in the *Forum* extraordinarily, to reverse the partial Sentences of the *Centumviri*; and often admonish'd the * *Recuperers* not to be led away by the Importunities and Blandishments of the † *Assertors*. The Judges who took Money he branded, together with their Council; and caus'd the Tribunes of the People to accuse a fordid Ædile of Bribery, and to demand Judgment against him of the Senate. He took also such Care to restrain the City-Magistrates and the Presidents of the Provinces, that they were never more modest nor just; instead of which, after his Reign, we have seen them commonly guilty of all Crimes. Having undertaken a Correction of Manners, he forbad the Licentiousness in the Theatre, of beholding the Shews promiscuously in the Knights Seats. And defamatory Papers which were spread about, in which Men and Women of the first Rank and Distinction were expos'd, he abolish'd, and disprov'd the Authors. He remov'd a Quæstorian Man from the Senate, because he was given to Acting and Dancing; and depriv'd fraudulous Women of the Use of the Litter, and the Right of receiving Legacies and Inheritances. He struck out of the Judges List a *Roman* Knight, for taking his Wife again after he had dismiss'd her and accus'd her of Adultery; and condemn'd some of either Order by the || *Scatinian* Law. The Incests of the Vestal Virgins, which had been neglected by his Father and his Brother, he restrain'd by several severe Penalties; punishing the first Offence capitally, and the

* *A Set of Judges, before whom People su'd for any Rights which were detain'd from them, or which they had lost.*

† *Those who appear'd with a Person before a Magistrate to make him free, declaring he had a just Title to Freedom, and claiming it for him as his Right.*

|| *For punishing those who kept Catamites, or prostituted themselves.*

the second after the * antient Manner. For when he had permitted the Sisters of *Ocellus* and *Varronilla* to chuse their Death, and had banish'd those who corrupted them, he afterwards commanded *Cornelia*, the principal of the Vestals, who had been acquitted formerly, and was now after a long Interval arraign'd again and convicted, to be bury'd alive, and her Debauchers to be whipt to Death with Rods in the † *Comitium*; but one of them who was a Pretorian Man, because his Case was doubtful, and his Confession was drawn from him by perplex'd Questions and by Torture, had the Indulgence to be banish'd. And that nothing belonging to the Gods might be prophan'd with Impunity, he made the Soldiers pull down a Monument a Freedman of his had built for his Son, of the Stones design'd for the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and throw the Bones and Relicks which were in it, into the Sea.

9. At first also he so abhorr'd all Manner of Bloodshed, that in his Father's Absence calling to Mind a Verse of *Virgil*,

|| *Impia quam caesis gens epulata juvencis.*

E'er impious Nations fed on Heifers slain.

he was going to publish an Edict, *That no Oxen should be sacrific'd*. And while he was a private Person, and for some Time after he was a Prince, he hardly gave the least Suspicion of Covetousness and Parsimony; nay on the contrary he often shew'd Instances not

* *To be bury'd alive.*

† *A publick Place in* Rome, *where the Elections of Magistrates were made.*

|| Georg. 2.

only of great †† Abſtinence, but alſo of Bounty. He was very liberal to all about him; and preſs'd nothing upon them ſo much, or with equal Earneſtneſs, as not to do a ſordid or ungenerous Action. He accepted no Eſtates which were left him by thoſe who had Children; and annull'd a Legacy appointed by the Teſtament of *Raſcius Capio*, who had requir'd *his Heir ſhou'd every Year preſent a certain Summ to the Senators Man by Man, as they went to the Houſe.* He diſcharg'd all thoſe who had Proſecutions commenc'd againſt them by the Treaſury five Years ago, and which were yet depending; and wou'd not permit the Action to be renew'd, unleſs it were done within a Year, and upon Condition, that if the Accuſer cou'd not make good his Cauſe, he ſhou'd be baniſh'd. The Queſtors Scribes, who had got a Cuſtom of Trading and Merchandizing contrary to the *Cladian* Law, he pardon'd for what was paſt; and reſtor'd the Parcels of * Lands which remain'd after the Diviſion of Grounds among the Veterane Troops, to the old Poſſeſſors, as belonging to them by Preſcription. He prevented vexatious Suits about the Revenues, by ſevere Puniſhments upon the Informers; and there was a Saying of his commonly reported, *A Prince who does not puniſh Delators, incourages them.*

10. But he did not continue long in a Courſe either of Clemency or Abſtinence; tho' he degenerated ſomewhat ſooner into Cruelty than into Covetouſneſs.

†† *Abſtinence here and in other Places which follow, does not ſignify the Moral Quality oppos'd to Intemperance, but the not invading the Property of another.*

* *Lat.* Subſeciva, quæ diviſis per Veteranos agris carptim ſuperfuerunt, veteribus poſſeſſoribus, ut uſucapta, conceſſit. *Here is a remarkable Inſtance of the Conciſeneſs of the* Latin *Language; for the Words* ſubſeciva, carptim, uſucapta, *will require a whole Sentence to draw out the full Meaning of them clearly in* Engliſh.

touſneſs. He kill'd a Boy, the Diſciple of *Paris* the Pantomime, as he lay very ill, becauſe he ſeem'd to be not unlike his * Maſter in his Art and Perſon; and *Hermogenes Tarſenſis*, for ſome figurative Expreſſions in his Hiſtory, crucifying alſo the Copiers who tranſcrib'd it. A Houſholder having ſaid, *A* †† Thracian *Gladiator was a Match for a* Mirmillo, *but not for the* X *Maſter of the Show*, he caus'd him to be dragg'd down from his Seat, and thrown upon the Stage to the Dogs with this Inſcription, *A* ‡ PALMULARIAN *WHO SPOKE* †† *IMPIOUS WORDS*. He put a Multitude of Senators to Death, and among them ſome Conſular Men; of whom were *Civica Cerealis* even in his Proconſulate of *Aſia*, *Salvidienus Orfitus*, and *Acilius Glabrio* in Exile, as if they were forming dangerous Deſigns againſt him; and the reſt ſuffer'd all upon the lighteſt Pretences. *Ælius Lamia* he executed for ſome ſuſpicious Jeſts indeed, but which were both old and innocent; as becauſe when *Domitian* was praiſing his Voice after he had taken his Wife from him he anſwer'd, || *Hen taces, I am dumb*; and becauſe when *Titus* adviſ'd him to marry again,

* *He had debauch'd* Domitian's *Wife, which enrag'd him ſo againſt this unhappy Youth for reſembling him.*

† *See the Note,* p. 280.

X *The Emperor, who underſtood this to mean the Gladiator was able to beat his Antagoniſt the* Mirmillo, *but did not dare to do it becauſe* Domitian *took his Part.*

‡ *Becauſe he declar'd for the* Thracian *Gladiators who wore a Shield call'd* Parma.

†† *By this* Domitian *ſeems to intimate his own Divinity, as he did by another Circumſtance mention'd* p. 483.

|| *This Reading is much diſputed by the Criticks; but if it be admitted, the Meaning is,* Ælius *was reſolv'd to be ſilent, ſince he found* Domitian *lik'd his Voice, leſt he ſhou'd endeavour to deprive him of that, as he had done of his Wife.*

he reply'd, Μὴ τὸ σὸν γαμοῦσα; *And* † *do you want to marry too?* He murder'd *Salvius Cocceianus*, because he had celebrated the Birth-day of his Uncle, *Otho* the Emperor; and *Mettius* * *Pompusianus*, because it was commonly believ'd he had an Imperial Nativity, and because he carry'd about him a Map of the *World* drawn upon Vellum, and the Speeches of the Kings and Generals taken out of *Livy*, and had given the Names of † *Mago* and *Annibal* to his Slaves. *Sallustius Lucullus*, the Lieutenant of *Britain*, because he had × suffer'd some Lances of a new Form to be call'd *Lucullean*. *Junius Rufinus*, because he had publish'd a Panegyrick upon †† *Perus Traseas* and *Helvidius Priscus*, and had styl'd them, *very holy Men*; and took Occasion, from this Offence, to remove all the Philosophers from the City, and from *Italy*. He also slew *Helvidius*, the Son, for having as it were touch'd upon his Divorce with his Wife in a Stage-Prologue, under the Person of *Paris* and *Oenone*; and *Flavius Sabinus*, one of his : Nephews, because, being chosen Consul, upon the Day of the Election the Cryer had inadvertently proclaim'd him, not *Consul*, but *Imperator*,

† *By taking away a Wife from me, after the Example of your Brother.* Domitian *had borne this Grudge against Titus for some Time; for it is plain these Words were spoken before he came to the Empire.*

* *The same mention'd* p. 461. *When* Vespasian *was told of his Nativity, instead of murdering him out of the Way, he acted like a sensible and generous Prince.*

† *Carthaginian Generals, who were formidable Enemies of the* Romans.

× *As if he had done himself too great an Honour, or shew'd a dangerous Ambition by it, and might design to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, in order to make a Revolt.*

†† *Traseas was put to Death by* Nero (p. 382.) *and Priscus by* Domitian *himself.*

: Patruelis, *a Brother's Son.*

Imperator, to the People. But after his Success in the Civil War, he was yet more cruel. For in order to discover their Accomplices, who lay conceal'd, he rack'd Multitudes of the other Party with a Torture of a new Invention, setting Fire to their privy Part; and cut off the Hands of some. And 'tis certain, that of the most moral of them, he pardon'd only two; a Tribune of the *Lusitani*, and a Centurion; who, the more easily to make it appear they were innocent, prov'd themselves to be *Pathicks*, and that it was impossible they shou'd have had any Interest either with the General or the Soldiers.

11. Now was his Cruelty only extreme, but crafty also and unexpected. The Day before he crucify'd the Comptroller of his Accounts, he invited him into his Bed-Chamber, made him sit upon the Bed by him, and sent him away perfectly secure and chearful, and at Supper did him the Honour to send him a Dish from his Table. Designing to condemn *Aretium Clarum*, a Consular Man, and one of his intimate Friends and Familiars, he shew'd him the same or greater Favour than ever; till at last, as he was riding out with him in the same Litter, spying his Accuser, *Shall we give this rankly Slave*, says he, *a Hearing to morrow?* And that he might abuse the Patience of Men with the greater Contempt, he never pronounc'd a severe Sentence, without a Preamble full of extraordinary Clemency: So that there was not a more certain Sign of a calamitous Issue to any Person, than a gentle Beginning. He brought some into the Senate who were guilty of Treason, and having first said, *he shou'd make a Proof that Day how dear he was to the Senate*, he easily had them condemn'd

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* *Because it was impossible that they, whose Course of Life was so grossly corrupte, shou'd engage in a Military Undertaking, or that any one wou'd think of inviting them into it.*

demn'd to be punish'd *More Majorum*; and then expressing a wonderful Consternation at the Severity of the Punishment, he interceded to mollify it in these Words; which it will not be amiss to set down particularly; *Permit me, Fathers, to obtain of your Goodness, tho' I know I shall obtain it with Difficulty, that you would so far indulge these condemn'd Wretches, as to allow them to chuse what Death they will die. For thereby you will spare your own † Eyes, and all Men will know I was present in the Senate.*

12. Being impoverish'd by the Extravagance of his Works and Gladiatory Shews, and by his raising the Soldiers Pay; he laid his Military Expences, he attempted to reduce the Number of the Soldiers. But considering he shou'd thereby expose himself to the Incursions of the *Barbarians*, and shou'd yet labour under very great Burdens, he set himself to ravage and plunder all Manner of Ways. The Goods of the Living and the Dead were seiz'd in every Place, whoever was the Accuser, and whatever the Crime: Any Act or Saying against the Majesty of the Prince was a sufficient Objection. The most distant

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† *The Horror of the Execution* More Majorum.

* *The Character of* Rufinus *in* Claudian;

——————Cuicunque monile
Contexrum Gemmis, aut Præcia culta fuissent, &c
Lib. 1.

Where precious Chains and costly Bracelets shine
With sparkling Gemms, and wrought with Art Divine:
On the fair Harvest shews a fruitful Soil,
The hungry Harpy flies and fastens on the Spoil.
The fertile Field and cultivated Plain
Betray their Owner, and undo the Swain.
Houses the Seizes, and Paternal Lands
Spurn their old Lords tumultuously demands:
All feel his Rage, thro' ev'ry Quarter spread;
He strips the Living, and he heirs the Dead.

distant Inheritances were confiscated, if there was but one Person who wou'd affirm he had heard the Deceas'd say, while he was alive, Cæsar *was his Heir*. Beside other Imposts, a Tax was severely exacted of the *Jews*, to which all were subjected who liv'd in the City after the *Jewish* Manner, without publickly professing the Religion, or who, dissembling their Original, had avoided the Tributes impos'd upon that Nation. I remember, when I was a Boy, an old Man of Ninety Years of Age was search'd by a Procurator, before a very full Council, whether he was circumcis'd. He was from his Youth uncivilis'd, of a bold confident Mind, and immoderate both in his Words and Actions. When *Cæsia*, his Father's Concubine, upon his Return from *Syria*, offer'd to salute him with a Kiss, he held her out his Hand. Being displeas'd that his Brother's Son-in-Law had his Servants who waited on him, clad in * White, he cry'd out, † Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, *There is no having more Princes than one.*

13. When he had obtain'd the Empire, he scrupled not to boast in the Senate, *that he had given it before to his Father and his Brother, and they had now restor'd it to him again*; nor when he recall'd his Wife, whom he had divorc'd, to say in the Edict, *she was recall'd to his* † Pulvinar; and he heard with Pleasure

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* *The Colour, it seems, of the Emperor's Livery.*

† Homer, Il. 2. Ulysses *says it to the* Greeks, *when he is endeavouring to stop their intended Flight and bring them into Order.* Domitian *applies it to his Nephew-in-Law, for giving his Servants a Livery of the Imperial Colour.*

† *A sacred Couch, upon which the Images of the Gods were plac'd. See* P. 99. *This is also another Circumstance by which* Domitian *asserts his Divinity: But the proudest and most insolent of all, is, his expressly styling himself* DEUS, *a* GOD, *and assuming the Title of* LORD, (*see the Note,* p. 105.) *and even exalting his Wife into a Goddess; a Thing without Example of any former Emperor.*

sure the People shout upon a Festival-Day in the Amphitheatre, *Prosperity to our* LORD *and* LADY. At the *Capitolian* Games also the whole Body of the Spectators entreating him with one Consent, to restore *Palfurius Sura*, who was formerly expell'd the Senate, and had then won the Prize in Oratory, he vouchsaf'd them no Answer, only commanded them by the Cryer to be silent. With equal Arrogance, as he was dictating the Form of a Letter for his Procurators, he began it thus; *DOMINUS & DEUS noster sic fieri jubet*, Our LORD *and* GOD *commands it to be so*. Whence it was afterwards appointed, that no one should give him any other Title in Words or Writing. He permitted no Statues to be erected to him in the *Capitol*, but of Gold and Silver, and of a certain Weight. He erected so many Posterns and Arches, adorn'd with Chariots of four Horses and Triumphal Decorations, in all the Regions of the City, that upon one of them was inscrib'd in *Greek*, *Enough*. He began seventeen Consulships, which was never done by any before; of which the middlemost seven were successive without Interruption: But he held them all almost only in Title, not retaining any one beyond the Kalends of *May*, and most of them but to the * Ides of *January*. After two Triumphs, having assum'd the Cognomen of *Germanicus*, he call'd the Months *September* and *October*, from his own Names, *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*; because he had receiv'd the Empire in one, and was born in the other.

14. By these Things becoming terrible and odious to all Men, he was destroy'd at last by a Conspiracy of his intimate Friends and Freedmen, and even of his Wife. He had long had an Apprehension concerning the last Year and Day of his Life, and of the very Hour, and the Kind of his Death. For the *Chaldeans* had foretold the whole to him when he was

* January *the* 13*th*.

was very young. His Father also laugh'd at him for being afraid to eat Mushrooms once at Supper, as not understanding his Destiny, nor considering he ought rather to fear the Sword. Wherefore, being always fearful and anxious, he was extravagantly alarm'd by the lightest Suspicions; so that it is believ'd he was restrain'd from executing his Edict for cutting down the Vines, by no other Motive, than because Papers were thrown about with these Verses:

Κλῆμ μὲ φάγης ἔτι εἶζαν, ἵνα σε σταφυλίσω,
Οἶνον ἐπισπείσω Καίσαρος Δυομένου.

Bite off my Bought, and eat me to the Root,
Yet from my Stem shall rise sufficient Fruit,
When *Cæsar's* to the sacred Altar led,
To pour upon the Sacrifice's Head.

From the same Terror, tho' he was most ambitious of Honours, he refus'd a new one invented for him and offer'd him by the Senate; by which it was decreed, *That as often as he assum'd the Consulship, a Body of the Roman Knights, chosen by Lot, shou'd march before him in their Robes with their Military Spears, among the Lictors and Apparitors.* The Time of his suspected Danger

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* *Verses in an old* Greek *Poet, upon a Goat's eating the Tendrils of the Vine, threatning him that, in Punishment for that Offence, he should be sacrific'd to* Bacchus, *the God of the Vine: Thus* Virgil,

Et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram, *&c.*
Geor. 2.

Thin Cakes in Chargers, and a guilty Goat
Dragg'd by the Horns, be to his Altars brought;
Whose offer'd Entrails shall his Crime reproach,
And drip their Fatness from the Hook's Broach.
Mr. Dryden.

Danger also approaching, he became more sollicitous every Day, and lin'd the Walls of the Portico's, in which he us'd to walk, with a † Phengis-Stone, by the Reflexion of which he cou'd discern whatever pass'd behind his Back; nor did he give the Criminals a Hearing, but in private and alone, and holding their Chains in his Hands. And that he might persuade his Domesticks, it was of pernicious Example to attempt the Murder of a Patron, he condemn'd *Epaphroditus*, his Secretary, to lose his Head, because when *Nero* was deserted, he was thought to have lent him a helping Hand to dispatch himself.

15. In a Word, *Flavius Clemens*, his Cousin German, who was a Man scandalously * idle, and whose little Children he had openly appointed for his Successors, and abolishing their former Name had commanded one to be called *Vespasian* and the other *Domitian*, he murder'd suddenly upon the most trivial Suspicion, the very Moment he was out of his Consulship. By which Action he hasten'd his own Ruine. For eight Months together, there was such incessant Thundering, that when he heard of it, he cry'd out, *First Jove quem vult, Now let it strike whom it will.* The *Capitol* was smote with Lightning, and the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, the *Palatine* House also, and his own Chamber; and the Inscription was rent from the Basis of his Triumphal Statue by the Violence of the Tempest, and thrown upon the next Monument. The Tree which while *Vespasian* was a Private Person being overturn'd sprung up again, fell down now on

† *A white Transparent Stone, found in* Cappadocia.

* *This Expression is understood to signify* Clemens *was a Christian, it being a common Reproach thrown on the Christians by the Heathen, that they were idle and useless Persons. This Shews us a Reason why St.* Paul, 2 Thes. 3. *and elsewhere, strictly enjoyns them to be diligent in their Calling, and to maintain themselves by some honest Employment.*

on a ſudden. The Oracle of *Fortune at Praeneſte*, which upon his recommending every New Year, thro' his whole Reign, to her Protection, us'd always to give him the ſame auſpicious anſwer, in his laſt return'd a very doleful one, and not without Mention of Blood. He dream'd *Minerva*, whom he worſhip'd even to Superſtition, went out of her Fane, declaring ſhe cou'd defend him no longer, becauſe ſhe was diſarm'd by *Jupiter*. But nothing affected him ſo much as the Anſwer of *Aſcletario* the Aſtrologer, and the Event which befel him. He was accus'd before *Domitian*, and did not deny his having divulg'd what he had foreſeen by his Art; and being ask'd what End wou'd attend himſelf, and replying he ſhou'd ſhortly be torne in Pieces by Dogs, he was order'd to be executed immediately, and to diſcover the Vanity of his Profeſſion, to be inſtantly reduc'd to Aſhes. But it happen'd that a ſudden Storm throwing down the Pile, the Dogs fell upon the Body half-burnt, and tore it. And *Latinus* the Mimick, who happen'd to obſerve it as he paſs'd by, among other Stories of the Day which he play'd before him, repreſented this Accident to him as he was at Supper.

16. The Day before he was kill'd, ſpeaking to have ſome Muſhrooms which were preſented him, ſet aſide for the Morrow, he added, *If indeed I may be allow'd to uſe them*; and turning to thoſe about him, aſſur'd them, *It wou'd come to paſs, that the Moon entring Aquarius the next Day, wou'd be ſtain'd her ſelf with Blood, and a Deed be perpetrated, which ſhou'd become the Diſcourſe of the whole World.* And about Midnight he was ſo terrify'd, that he leap'd out of Bed. After which, in the Morning an *Haruſpex* out of *Germany*, who when he was conſulted concerning the Thunder, had foretold an Alteration of Affairs, being brought before him, after he had heard him he condemn'd him to Death. And ſcratching an ulcerated Wart upon his Forehead pretty hard, and the Blood running down, *I wiſh*, ſays he, *it wou'd end*

here

here. Inquiring then what Hour it was, instead of the fifth, which he was afraid of, they told him the sixth on purpose. At this he was over-joy'd, as if the Danger was past; and making haste to bathe and dress, *Parthenius*, his chief Chamberlain, took him aside, pretending there was one who had something to communicate of the last Importance, which admitted of no Delay. The Company therefore being all sent off, he withdrew to his Chamber, and was murder'd there.

17. Concerning the Manner of the Conspiracy and Murder, the common Report is this: The Conspirators being irresolute when and how they shou'd attack him, that is, whether in the Bath or at Supper; *Stephanus*, *Domitilla*'s Steward, who had then embezzel'd several Summs of Money, offer'd them his Advice and Assistance. To remove all Suspicion he swath'd up his left Arm in Wool, as if it had been hurt, and wore it in a Scarf, in which he conceal'd a Dagger against the appointed Hour; and undertaking to discover a certain Conspiracy to him, and being thus admitted into the Chamber, as *Domitian* was reading a Paper which he had deliver'd to him, with Astonishment, he stabb'd him into the Groin; and upon his making a Resistance after the Blow, *Clodianus* the Commander of a Wing, and *Maximus* a Freedman of *Parthenius*'s, and *Satorius* an Officer of the Houshold, with a certain Fellow belonging to the Gladiators, finish'd him with seven Wounds. A Boy, who according to Custom look'd after the *Lares* of the Chamber, and was therefore present at the Murder, reported further, that at the first Stroke *Domitian* bad him reach him a Dagger which lay under his Pillow, and call in his Servants; but he found nothing there but the Hilt, and the Doors were all lock'd; and that the Emperor closing in with *Stephanus*, threw him down, and struggled with him a long time, sometimes endeavouring to wrest his Weapon from him, and sometimes, tho' his Fingers were hack'd and mangled, to thrust out his Eyes.

Eyes. He was kill'd the fourteenth of the Kalends of *October*, in the forty-fourth Year of his Age and the fifteenth of his Reign. His Body was carry'd out upon a common Bier by the ordinary Bearers, and his Nurse *Phillis* burnt it at her Country-House in the *Latian Way*, and privately convey'd the Relicks into the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, and mingled them with the Ashes of *Titus*'s Daughter *Julia*, whom she had also bred up.

18. His Stature was tall, his Countenance modest and fresh-colour'd, his Eyes large, but short-sighted: He was also handsome, especially in his Youth, and well proportion'd in all Parts of his Body except his Feet, of which his Toes were very short. His Baldness in time became a Deformity to him, and the Protuberancy of his Belly and the * Goutiness of his Legs; but these were afterwards reduc'd by a long Sickness which befel him. He was so sensible of his being admir'd for his graceful Aspect, that he proudly told the Senate once, *Thus far ye have had a Proof both of my Mind and my Looks.* And his Baldness gave him so much Disturbance, that if the same Circumstance was objected to any one else, either in Jest or Reproach, he took it as a Reflection on himself: Tho' in a small Treatise he wrote to a Friend concerning the Management of the Hair, he inserted this Passage for his Friend's Consolation and his own,

† Οὐχ' ὁρᾷς οἷος καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς μεγάλοις τερπόμεθα.

Seest thou not how my happy Features shine,
With pleasing Grace, and Vigour Masculine?

My

* *Lat.* Crurum Gracilitate. *The Word* Gracilitate *is reasonably rejected by the Criticks, and* Gravitate *supply'd; and the Pronoun* quæ *which follows, and the Verb* remeruerant, *may refer to the* Obesitas Ventris *and* Crurum Gravitas.

† Homer, *Il.* 21.

My Looks must also undergo the same Fate; and I patiently bear my Hair's growing old even in my Youth. For know, there is nothing more pleasing than Beauty, nor of shorter Duration.

19. Being impatient of Labour, he seldom walk'd thro' the City on Foot, and very rarely rode on Horseback in an Expedition or a March, but was generally carry'd in a Litter. He had no Inclination to Arms, but was mightily addicted to Archery; and many have seen him kill a hundred Wild Beasts of various Sorts, several times in the *Alban* Grove, with his Arrows, which he shou'd purposely fix so on some of their Heads, that at two Shoots he wou'd plant as it were a Pair of Horns upon them. Sometimes also he made a Boy stand at a Distance, and holding up his Hand for a Mark with his Fingers spread out, he directed his Shafts so skilfully, as to lodge them between Finger and Finger without hurting him.

20. At the Beginning of his Reign he neglected the Liberal Studies, tho' he took Care at a vast Expence to restore the Libraries which were ruin'd by Fire, procuring Copies from all Parts, and sending Persons to *Alexandria* to transcribe and correct them. Yet he never employ'd any Pains to understand either History or Poetry, or even to obtain a tolerable Style for common Use. Beside the Commentaries and Acts of *Tiberius Cæsar*, he read Nothing, and had his Epistles and Orations and Edicts drawn by another. Yet his Discourse was not inelegant, and his Sayings were sometimes well turn'd; as, *I wish I was as handsome as Metius thinks himself to be.* And a certain Person's Head of Hair which was partly yellow and white, he call'd, *Mead mix'd with Snow*; and * *the Condition of Princes*, he said, *was most miserable*; *for*

* There cannot be a more just Reflection in Politicks than this, the People being generally apt to suspect a Conspiracy to

for People wou'd not believe they had discover'd a Conspiracy, unless they were kill'd.

21. In his idle Hours, he diverted himself with gaming at the Dye, even upon † ordinary Days, and in the Morning. He bath'd every Day, and made a full Dinner, so that he seldom eat any thing at Supper, except a *Matian* Apple, with a small Draught out of a Vial. He gave frequent Feasts, and very rich, but his Meals were generally short; at least, he never began after Sunset, nor continu'd at Table beyond that Hour. For till Bed-time he did nothing but walk in some private Place alone.

22. Being extravagantly given to Lust, he call'd his continual acting it, *Cinædos*, as if it had been a sort of Exercise. There was a Report as if he smooth'd his Concubines himself, and us'd to swim among a Company of the most ordinary Strumpets. Having, while he was espous'd to *Domitia*, utterly refus'd his Brother's Daughter, who was offer'd him when a Virgin; he not long after corrupted her when she was marry'd to another, even while *Titus* was living; and when she had lost her Father and Husband, he lov'd her openly with the most ardent Passion; so that he is thought to have been the Cause of her Death, by forcing her to * miscarry of her Conception.

23. The

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to be a Finesse of Princes, to furnish themselves with a specious Occasion of taking off any Persons they dislike or fear: And therefore Princes are under an unhappy Dilemma, *either to expose themselves to this Suspicion of their Subjects, if they crush a Conspiracy early while it is just form'd and is not publickly notorious, or to run the last Hazard by suffering it to make some Progress before they suppress it, and then perhaps it may be out of their Power.*

† *This was contrary to the Custom, and was the Sign of an idle and dissolute Person.* See p. 120.

* *Believing it was by her late Husband.*

23. The People bore his Death with Indifference, but the Soldiers took it with the utmoſt Affliction, and endeavour'd to get the Style of *Divus* immediately conferr'd upon him; being ready alſo to revenge him, if they had not wanted Leaders: But they did it ſoon after, fiercely demanding the Authors of the Murder to be puniſh'd. On the contrary the Senate was ſo overjoy'd at it, that they crouded to the Houſe in Heaps, and cou'd not forbear inſulting him now dead with the moſt contumelious and bitter Expreſſions; and order'd Ladders to be brought in, and his Shields and Images taken down before their Face, and daſh'd againſt the Stones: Laſtly they decreed his Titles ſhou'd be eras'd in all Parts, and his Memory utterly aboliſh'd. A few Months before he was kill'd, a Raven ſpoke in the *Capitol*, and ſaid, "Εσται καλως, *All Things will be well.* Nor was one wanting who interpreted the Omen thus:

Nuper Tarpeïo quæ ſedit culmine Cornix,
Eſt bene, non potuit dicere, dixit, Erit.

The Raven perch'd on the *Tarpeian* Hill,
Cou'd not ſay, *'Tis*, but ſaid, *It will be well.*

And they ſay *Domitian* dream'd himſelf, that a Bunch of Golden Fleſh grew out behind his Neck, and believ'd firmly, that a more happy and flouriſhing State of the Republick after his Death was portended; which came to paſs indeed in a little while, by the Abſtinence and Moderation of the following Princes.

FINIS.

THE CONTENTS OF THE LIVES.

I.

JULIUS CÆSAR, *was born in the Year of* Rome 654; *before* CHRIST 100; *Reign'd from the Battel of* Pharſalia 4 *Years, and was kill'd in the* 56*th Year of his Age, before* CHRIST 44.

JULIUS CÆSAR made Prieſt of *Jupiter* at Seventeen Years old. *Page* 1

In Danger from *Sylla*, and with much Difficulty obtains a Pardon. 2, 3

Retires to *Rhodes*, and is taken by Pirates in his Paſſage. 3

Made a Military Tribune. *ibid.*

Sent Governour to *Spain*. 4

Returns

Returns to *Rome*. p. 5
Suspected of forming a Conspiracy to murder the Senate, *&c.* *ibid.*
His Actions in his Ædileship. 6
Procures himself to be chosen High-Priest. 7
Is made Pretor. *ibid.*
Is against punishing *Catiline*'s Accomplices with Death. *ibid.*
Is himself accus'd as one of the Number. 9
Chosen Consul with *Bibulus*, 10. whom he forces to abscond. 11
Acts arbitrarily, and makes *Cato* be hal'd out of the Senate to Prison for opposing him. *ibid.*
Marries *Calpurnia*. 12
Obtains the Government of *Gaul*. 13
Forms Designs to alter the Government. 15
His Arts to preserve *Pompey*'s Friendship, and to ingratiate himself with Persons of all Orders and Degrees. 16
Passes over the *Rubicon*, and begins the Civil War. 20
Is besieg'd by *Pompey* for four Months, in vain. 21
Defeats *Pompey* at *Pharsalia*, and pursuing him to *Ægypt*, conquers that Kingdom, *ibid.* and gains several other Victories. *ibid.*
His Reflection upon *Pompey*'s wrong Conduct at *Dyrrachium*. 22
Makes five Triumphs. *ibid.*
Gives Largesses to the Soldiers and to the People, and exhibits several Shews. 23
Reforms the Kalendar. 24
Interposes in Elections of Magistrates, and makes several Regulations in the State. 25
Administers Justice very strictly. 26
Projects several great and magnificent Designs, which he did not live to execute. 27
His Person describ'd. *ibid.*
Sylla's Saying upon him. 28
His Lasciviousness, 29, *&c.*
Is not curious in his Eating. 32
His Avarice. *ibid.*

Cicero's

Cicero's Character of him as an Orator. p. 33
His Commentaries justly admir'd by *Cicero*, and others. 34
Several other Pieces mention'd to have been written by him. 35
His Way of writing in Cypher. *ibid.*
Instances of his Intrepidity and Military Conduct. 36, &c.
His Discipline and Care of his Soldiers, and their Affection to him. 39
His Tenderness of his Friends. 42
Is ready to forgive, and uses his Victories with great Moderation. 42, &c.
His Abuses of his Power. 44, &c.
A Conspiracy is form'd against him. 47
Omens foreboding the Murder. 49, 50
Is stabb'd in the Senate. 50
His Will read. 51
His Funerals solemniz'd. 52, &c.
He is consecrated among the Gods. 55

II.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR *was born in the Year of* Rome *691, before Christ 63; reign'd from the Time of forming the Triumvirate, 56 Years; and dy'd at* Nola *in the 76th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 14.

AUGUSTUS, his Family and Ancestors. 57, &c.
Mark Anthony's Reflection upon his Family. 60
His Birth. *ibid.*
A superstitious Opinion about the Room where he was born. 61
The Sirname of *AUGUSTUS* conferr'd upon him. 62
Is engag'd in five Civil Wars. 63
What drew them upon him. 64

Forms a Triumvirate with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*. p. 66
His Cruelty. 66, 67
Reproach'd for Cowardice and an impious Insolence. 68
Deprives *Lepidus* of his Command, and banishes him. 69
Treats with *Anthony*, and besieges him and *Cleopatra* in *Alexandria*. 70
Discovers and defeats several Conspiracies. 72
The Fame of his Clemency among Foreign Nations. 74
Shuts the Temple of *Janus*. 75
His Consternation upon *Varus*'s Defeat. *ibid.*
His Regulations in the Army, and Military Customs. 76
Condemns Hastiness in a General, his Saying upon it. 77
His Magistracies and Honours. 78
His Severity in a Proscription. 79
Is thinking to resign the Empire. 80
Adorns and improves the City, 81, 82. and divides it into Regions or Wards. *ibid.*
Regulates the Year, and gives his own Name to the Month *Sextilis*. 83
Makes Regulations in the Orders of the Priests. *ibid.*
Removes several Publick Annoyances. 84
Gives Judgment with great Exactness. 85
Reforms the Senate. 87
Creates new Offices. 89
Is generous to all Military Merit. 90
Reviews the Knights. 92
Grants the Privilege of Citizens very sparingly. *ibid.*
Attempts to revive the old Habit of the Gown. 93
His Liberality. 94
Discountenances Luxury.
The Variety and Magnificence of his Publick Shews. 95
His Regulations about the Shews. 97, &c.
Repeoples *Italy* with Colonies. 101

His

His disposing the Government of the Provinces. p. 101
His Generosity with respect to conquer'd Kingdoms, and Princes in Alliance. 102
His Distribution of his Forces. *ibid.*
His Clemency, 103, and Moderation in accepting Honours. 104, *&c.*
Refuses the Style of *LORD*. 105
Is extremely belov'd. 108, *&c.*
His Marriages and Issue. 111
Takes extraordinary Care in the Education of his Children, 112. but is strangely disappointed in it. 113
His Friendships. 114
His Treatment of his Domesticks. 116
His Vices in his Youth, 116. and his Adulteries. 117
An extravagant and scandalous Supper of his. 118
Is addicted to Gaming. 120
His Parsimoniousness. 122
His Entertainments and Celebration of Festivals. 123
His Temperance in Eating and Drinking. 124, 125
His Times of Sleeping 125
His Person describ'd. 126
The State of his Health. 127
The Clothes he wore. 128
His Exercises, 129. Studies and Writings. 130, 131
His Style. 132
His Sayings, and some Particularities in his Writing and Spelling. 133, 134
Admires the *Greek* Learning. 134
His Regard of Religious Rites and Omens. 137, *&c.*
Omens preceding his Birth, and foreshewing his future Greatness, 141, *&c.* and presignifying to him the Success of his War. 149
Omens of his Death. 150, *&c.*
His Rallery of *Masgabas* an Astrologer. 153
His Deportment in his last Moments. 155, *&c.*
His Funerals. 156, *&c.*
His Will. 159

III.

TIBERIUS CÆSAR *was born in the Year of* Rome 712. *before Christ,* 43; *reign'd* 23 *Years, and dy'd in the* 78*th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 37.

His Descent. p. 166
Born of *Livia* before she was marry'd to *Augustus.* 168
The Dangers he was expos'd to in his Infancy, *ibid.*
his Youth. 169
Exhibits Games. 171
Marries *Agrippina,* 172. and divorcing her, takes *Julia* to Wife. *ibid.*
Pleads several Causes. 173
His Military Actions. *ibid.*
Retires from *Rome.* 174, 175
His Manner of Living in his Retirement at *Rhodes.* 176, 178, 179
Returns to *Rome.* 180
Portents of his future Fortune. 180, 181
Is adopted by *Augustus.* 182
His Success in the *Illyrian* War. 183
His strict Discipline. 185
Triumphs. *ibid.*
Augustus's Character of him in some Letters he wrote to him. 188
Convenes the Senate, and reads *Augustus*'s Will. 189
Refuses the Title of *EMPEROR.* 190
The Reasons of it. *ibid.*
Abhors Flattery, 193. and bears Reproaches with Patience. 194
Revives an Appearance and Shew of Liberty, 195. and restores the Authority of the Senate in several Particulars. 195, 196, 197
Restrains the Expences of Publick Shews, 199. and animadverts upon several Delinquents. 201
Suppresses the *Jews,* 202. and Astrologers. 203

Retires

Retires to *Campania*, 205. and to *Capreæ*. p. 206
His Extravagances there. 206, *&c.*
His unpopular Behaviour. 211
His Rapine, 212. and Hatred of his Relations, 214, 215, *&c.*
His Cruelty to them, and to his familiar Friends and others. 220, 221, *&c.*
The Fears and Terrors of his Mind. 229, 230, 235
He cuts off *Sejanus*. 231
His Person describ'd. 236
His Negligence of Religious Rites. 237
His Affection to the Liberal Arts. 238, 239
His Death 242
Omens of it. 243
The Peoples rejoicing at it. *ibid.*
His Will. 244

IV.

CALIGULA CÆSAR *was born in the Year of* Rome 765, *after Christ* 12; *reign'd* 3 *Years*, 10 *Months*, *and* 8 *Days*, *and was kill'd in the* 29*th Year of his Age*, Anno Dom. 41.

Germanicus, the Father of *Caligula*, is suspected to be poyson'd by *Tiberius*'s Order. 246
His admirable Character. 247
Wonderfully belov'd by the People and by foreign Princes. 248
The Consternation of the People upon the News of his Death. 249
Caligula born. 250
The Place of his Birth. 251
Whence he had the Name of *Caligula*. 252
His Childhood and Youth. 253
Early Tokens of his cruel Disposition. 254

Suspected to have caus'd *Tiberius*'s Death. p. 255
Comes to the Empire with universal Applause. *ibid.*
His popular Actions. 257
His Acts of Justice and good Government. 258, 259
His Sports. 261, 262, 263
His Arrogance. 264
Assumes Divine Honours. 265
His Extravagances in that Kind. 265, 266
Disdains his Family, 266, 267. and puts to Death some of his nearest Relations. 268
Debauches his Sisters. *ibid.*
His Wives. 270
His Insolence towards the Senators and the other Orders. 272
Instances of his Cruelty. 273, &c.
His barbarous Expressions. 275, &c.
His Inhumanity in his Diversions. 278
His Malice against Persons of all Ages. 279, &c.
His Lewdness. 281
His Prodigality, 282. and Extortions. 283, &c.
Invents new Sorts of Taxes. 286
His Mock-Campaign. 289, &c.
His brutal Design. 292, 293, 294
His Person describ'd. 294
His Frenzy and Horrors. 295
His Habits. 297
Affects Fencing, Racing, Singing and Dancing. 298, 299
His extravagant Passion to those whom he lov'd. 299
The Conspiracy against him. 300
The Prodigies foreshewing his Murder. 301
The Manner of his Murder. 303

V.

CLAUDIUS CÆSAR *was born in the Year of* Rome *743, before Christ* 11; *reign'd between* 13 *and* 14 *Years, and dy'd by Poyson in the* 64*th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 54.

Druſus, the Father of *Claudius*, his Actions and Honours p. 305, 306, 307
Claudius born. 307
His Stupidity. 308
Auguſtus's Character of him. 309, &c.
Is ſlighted by *Tiberius*, 311. belov'd by the People. 312
The Affronts he receiv'd. 313
His Dangers. *ibid.*
The odd Accident of his coming to the Empire. 315
The Honours he paid his Relations and others. 316
His Modeſty in refuſing Honours. 317
Deſigns againſt his Perſon. 318
His Diligence and great Variety in adminiſtring Juſtice. 319
His Behaviour in his Queſtorſhip. 321, 322
His Expedition. 323
His Care to preſerve the City from Fire and Scarcity. 324
His Buildings. 325
His Shews. 326, 327
His Regulations in Military Diſcipline and Civil Government. 329, &c.
His Iſſue. 334
His Favorites. 335
His Perſon deſcrib'd. 336
His Entertainments. 337
Is a large Eater, *ibid.* and of a cruel Temper. 338

His Fear and Diffidence. p. 339, 340
His great Forgetfulness and Thoughtlesness. 342
Writes a History. 343
Loves the *Greek* Language. 344
Repents his Marriage with *Agrippina*. 345
His Will. *ibid.*
His Death. 346
The Omens of it. *ibid.*

VI.

NERO CÆSAR *was born in the Year of* Rome *789, after Christ* 36; *reign'd* 14 *Years, and kill'd himself in the* 32*d Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 68.

The *Domitian* Family from which *Nero* was descended. 347, *&c.*
Nero's Father. 351
Nero born. *ibid.*
Seneca's Dream concerning him. 353
Is made Emperor. 354
Gives some Signs of a virtuous Disposition. 354, 355
His Shews. 355, *&c.*
His Vanity in *Tiridates*'s Entry. 358
Shuts the Temple of *Janus*. 359
His Administration of Justice. *ibid.*
Invents a new Form of Building. 360
Persecutes the Christians. *ibid.*
Provides against Forgeries. *ibid.*
His passionate Affectation of being admir'd for a Musician and a Singer, 362, 363. and for a good Driver in the Publick Games. 365
Performs in all the Exercises. 366
His solemn Entry into *Rome*. 367
His Raking about the Streets. 370

His

His Debaucheries. *p.* 371, 372
His Profuſeneſs. 373
His extravagant Buildings. 373, 374
His Rapines, Parricides, and Murders. 375, 376
Hates his Mother, and attempts to deſtroy her, 378.
has her murder'd. 379
Procures the Death of his Aunt. *ibid.*
Murders two of his Wives, and other Relations. 380
Other Acts of his Cruelty. 381, 382
Fires the City. 383
Satires upon him. 385, 386
His Indifference upon the News of an Inſurrection. 388
Is quite diſpirited at the Hearing of *Galba*'s Revolt. 389
His atrocious Deſigns at the Beginning of the Tumults. 390
His March againſt the Revolters. *ibid.*
His ill-boding Omens and Dreams. 392, 393, 394
His Confuſion upon the Advice of the Army's Deſection. 394
Flies away in great Conſternation. 395
Gets to the Country-Houſe of his Freedman *Phaon*. 396
After much Lingring and Heſitation he ſtabbs himſelf. 397
His Funeral. 398
His Perſon deſcrib'd. *ibid.*
His Poetry. *ibid.*
Has a Fancy for Painting. 399
His prepoſterous Affectation of Renown. *ibid.*
His Devotion to the *Syrian* Goddeſs. 400
The People overjoy'd at his Death. *ibid.*
The *Parthians* Love to his Memory. *ibid.*
Is perſonated ſeveral Years after by an Impoſtor. *ibid.*

VII.

GALBA *was born in the Year of* Rome 751, *before Christ* 3; *reign'd* 7 *Months, and was kill'd in the* 73*d Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 69.

The Family of the *Cæsars* extinct in *Nero*. p. 401
Omens of it. *ibid.*
Galba honourably descended. 402
The Name *Galba*, whence. *ibid.*
Galba born. 403
Omens of his Greatness. 403, 404
Studies the Law. 405
His Marriage. *ibid.*
His Veneration for the Empress *Livia*. *ibid.*
His strict Discipline in the Army. 406
His Justice and Severity in the Government of *Africa*. 407
His Honours. *ibid.*
His Government of *Spain*. 408
Is saluted Emperor. 409
His Danger. 410
Assumes the Style of *Cæsar*. *ibid.*
The Reports spread of his Cruelty and Avarice before he enter'd the City. 411
His Arrival not very grateful. 412
Is manag'd by three Favorites. *ibid.*
Becomes odious to all Orders, and especially to the Soldiers. 413
Adopts *Piso*. 414
Omens of his Fall. *ibid.*
Otho conspires against him. 416
He is murder'd. *ibid.*
The Insults offer'd to him after his Death. 417
His Person and Manners. 418
The Honours paid him. *ibid.*

VIII.

VIII.

OTHO *was born in the Year of* Rome 785, *after Christ* 31; *reign'd* 95 *Days, and kill'd himself in the* 38*th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 69.

Otho's Ancestors. 419
His Birth. 420
His Extravagancies in his Youth. *ibid.*
His Familiarity with *Nero.* 421
Joins with *Galba.* 422
Disgusted at *Galba.* *ibid.*
Conspires against him. 423
Haunted by *Galba's* Ghost. 425
The Troops in *Germany* revolt to *Vitellius.* 426
The extraordinary Fidelity of the Pretorian Bands to Otho. *ibid.*
His imprudent Conduct in his Expedition against *Vitellius.* 426, 427
Is defeated by Treachery. 427
Resolves to put an End to his Life. *ibid.*
Takes his Leave of his Friends, and stabs himself. 428, 429
His Person, and his effeminate Manners. 429
The Bravery he shew'd in his Death made him wonderfully belov'd. 439

IX.

VITELLIUS *was born in the Year of* Rome 765, *after Christ* 12; *reign'd* 8 *Months, and was kill'd in the* 57*th Year of his Age*, Anno Dom. 69.

The Family of the *Vitellii*. p. 431
Vitellius's Father *Lucius* first began the Custom of worshipping *Caligula* as a God. 433
His Artifices to insinuate himself into *Messalina* the Empress, and the Emperor's Favorites. 434
Vitellius born. *ibid.*
Lewd from his Youth. 435
His different Behaviour in his Preferments. *ibid.*
His Marriages and Children. 435, 436
Is sent into the Lower *Germany* by *Galba*. 436
His wretched Circumstances at that Time. *ibid.*
His Arts to insinuate himself into the Soldiers. 437
They salute him *EMPEROR*. 438
Omens at his beginning his March towards *Italy*. *ibid.*
Some Actions and Sayings of his in the March. 439, 440
His Manner of entring the City and beginning to govern. 440
Is manag'd by the baseſt of the Players and Racers. 441
His enormous Gluttony. *ibid.*
His Cruelty. 442
Vespasian takes Arms against him. 443
He is in the utmost Allarm. 444
A barbarous Piece of Treachery of his. *ibid.*
Flies privately out of *Rome* and returns. 445
Is taken, and put to Death with the higheſt Ignominy. 445, 446

X.

X.

VESPASIAN *was born in the Year of* Rome 760, *after Christ* 6; *reign'd* 10 *Years, and dy'd in the* 70*th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 76.

The *Flavian* Family, 447
Vespasian's Birth. 449
His Offices. *ibid.*
Is sent into *Britain*. 450
His Government of *Africa*. 451
Affronts *Nero*. *ibid.*
Is sent into *Judea* to suppress a Revolt of the *Jews*. 452
Is encourag'd by several Omens to expect the Empire. *ibid.*
Is chosen Emperor by some of the Legions, and afterwards by the other Armies. 455
Marches to *Alexandria*. 456
Performs a Cure on a blind Man and a lame. *ibid.*
His *Judaic* Triumph. 457
Makes several Reformations. *ibid.*
Undertakes to repair the *Capitol*, and restore the old Records. 458
His Structures. *ibid.*
Regulates the Law-Suits. 459
Provides against Luxury and Lust. *ibid.*
Frankly confesses the Meanness of his former Condition. *ibid.*
His Temper in bearing Reproaches. 460
Is not given to Revenge. *ibid.*
His Avarice. 461
His Liberality and Encouragement of Learning. 462
His Person describ'd, and his Manner of Living. 463
His facetious Turns and Jests. 464, *&c.*
His Death. 467

XI.

XI.

TITUS *was born in the Year of* Rome 793, *after Christ* 40; *reign'd between* 2 *and* 3 *Years, and dy'd (as 'tis justly suspected) by the Treachery of his Brother* Domitian, *in the* 41*st Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 81.

Titus's beautiful Character. 469
His Birth. *ibid.*
His extraordinary Qualifications in Body and Mind. 470
His Military Services in *Germany*, *Britain* and *Judea*. 571
Is confirm'd in his Hope of the Empire by the Oracle of *Venus*. *ibid.*
Takes *Jerusalem*. 472
Clears himself of a Design to revolt against his Father, of which he had been suspected. *ibid.*
Acts with his Father as Partner and Guardian of the Empire. *ibid.*
Makes himself hated by some Acts of Cruelty. 473
His Luxury and Luft. *ibid.*
Is admir'd at last for his extraordinary Virtues. *ibid.*
Instances of his wonderful Benevolence. 474, 475
Accepts of the High-Priesthood to preserve his Hands from Blood. 476
His tender Reproofs of two Persons who conspir'd against him, *ibid.* and of his Brother who was moving the Soldiers to revolt. 477
His untimely Death. *ibid.*

XII.

XII.

DOMITIAN *was born in the Year of* Rome 805, *after Christ* 51; *reign'd* 15 *Years, and was kill'd in the* 45*th Year of his Age,* Anno Dom. 96.

Domitian born. 479
Narrowly escapes falling into *Vitellius*'s Hands. 480
Assumes the Pretorship. *ibid.*
His arrogant Behaviour in it, and his Father's Saying upon it. *ibid.*
Is kept under by *Vespasian*. *ibid.*
His treacherous Designs against his Brother. 481
His Custom of shutting himself up and catching Flies. *ibid.*
His Shews. 482
His Favorite Dwarf. *ibid.*
Sits at the Games in the Habit of a God. 483
His Buildings. 484
His Expeditions. *ibid.*
Makes Innovations in Things of common Use. 485
Administers Justice with Diligence. 486
Suppresses Libels, and punishes the Incests of the Vestal Virgins. *ibid.*
Is at first very tender of Blood, 487. and bountiful. 488
Is severe upon Informers. *ibid.*
Becomes covetous and cruel. 489
Instances of his Cruelty. 489, 490, 491
His Rapines. 492, *&c.*
His arrogant Expressions. 493
The insolent Form of a Letter he dictated to his Procurators. 494
Is universally hated. *ibid.*
Has a Foreboding of the Manner and Time of his Death. *ibid.*

His

His great Precaution. p. 496
Preſages of his Fall. 496, 497
A remarkable one in the Caſe of *Aſclatavis* the Aſtrologer. 497
His Ominous Expreſſions. *ibid.*
The Manner of his Murder. 498
Deſcription of his Perſon. 499
His ſurprizing Skill in Archery. 500
His Sayings. *ibid.*
His Images thrown down by the Senate, and a Decree paſs'd to abolish his Memory. 502
Domitian's Dream. *ibid.*

FINIS.